LINGUISTIC POLITENESS IN BRITISH ENGLISH AND THAI: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THREE EXPRESSIVE SPEECH ACTS

by

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to further our understanding of linguistic politeness by focusing on both a Western and a non-Western language. It is based on two sets of data (one spontaneous and the other elicited) and provides a comparative analysis of three expressive speech acts produced by native speakers of British English and Thai. At face value, compliments, apologies and thanks may seem to have little referential meaning, yet these speech acts can be crucially important in originating, maintaining or even terminating social relationships. The data reveal a tendency for the two groups of speakers to use the three politeness devices in a different manner, reflecting cross-cultural differences in social norms and value systems. This project follows earlier studies of similar nature, in particular those carried out on different varieties of English. The findings are interpreted within pragmatic and sociolinguistic theoretical frameworks, and are discussed in the following format: linguistic structures of the speech acts, their functions, the topics of compliments, apologies and thanks, interpersonal and contextual factors influencing the production of these expressives, and the responses given to them. The analysis has implications for language specialists and lay people alike, in that it brings together a number of important insights with regard to these speech features that may result in miscommunication if and when British and Thai speakers converse in intercultural situations.

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Although efforts have been expended upon achieving optimum accuracy of concept interpretations, data analyses and discussions, there may be certain areas that I have overlooked or treated insufficiently, and I hereby assume full responsibility for any such possible errors.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Throughout this work, I adopt several abbreviations and symbols for the description of recurrent concepts and speech features. I also make use of other conventions to guide readers on the transcriptions and interpretations of examples discussed.

Abbreviations

ADJ	Positively attributive adjective
ADV	Positively attributive adverb
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project
CLS	Noun classifier
CP	Cooperative principle
D	Social distance variable
DC	Discourse construction questionnaire
DCT	Discourse completion test
EFL	English as a foreign language
ESL	English as a second language
FN	First name
FSA	Face-saving act
FTA	Face-threatening act
FTR	Future tense marker
FWT	Full name without title
GEN	Genitive
HON	Honorific title
IFID	Illocutionary force indicating device
INT	Interjection
IP	Irony principle
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LLC	London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English
LN	Last name
MN	Multiple name
NN	Nickname
NP	Noun phrase
NVC	Non-verbal communication
OOC	Opting-out choice
P	Power status variable
PP	Politeness principle
PRO	Pronoun
PROG	Progressive aspect marker
PST	Past tense marker
R	Ranking of imposition variable
RP	Received pronunciation
SFP	Sentence final particle
TF	Title plus full name
TFN	Title plus first name
TLN	Title plus last name
T/V	*Tu/vous* distinction
V	Verb

Symbols and Transcription Conventions

*	Semantically/pragmatically aberrant example
[ ]	Additional clarification of a speech sample
/	Indication of the end of a clause or a phrase (in the Thai data)

Transliteration

The transliteration of Thai scripts into the Roman alphabet is based on the convention invented by Haas (1964). I shall indicate only consonants, vowels and tones.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Questions and Objectives

That language can perform numerous functions other than being a mere instrument for exchanging ideas and information is commonly considered by linguists of different schools of thought to be an unmistakable truism. The study reported here grew out of the conviction that language must be analysed both in terms of well-organised structures of grammar and in terms of the conventional rules of usage. Since the approach I have adopted is a sociolinguistic one, I shall focus on the ways in which language is used in interactions, and explore how it affects our everyday lives. Understanding the value of people's linguistic and social behaviour in this way is an initial step towards fortifying interpersonal relationships and overcoming any barriers that would jeopardise what might otherwise be effective communication.

The constant thread that runs through the consecutive discussions in this thesis is the analysis of 'linguistic politeness'. Some necessary clarification is in order. Exactly how one describes 'politeness' seems to be a consequence of one's own perceptions of, for example, how good conversations are formulated, what utterances should be employed therein and what purposes one wants these words to achieve. Politeness is a multi-faceted phenomenon, comprising, for instance, both verbal and non-verbal features. The one aspect that will concern us most here is what can be characterised, in broad terms, as an utterance-level assessment of socially and interactionally appropriate behaviour (subject to variation from one culture to the next) that conversational participants expect each other to conform to in the hope of showing mutual consideration as well as ensuring tension-free speech events.

The notion of 'speech acts' is central to the analysis of linguistic politeness and has acted as an influential paradigm in examinations into people's communicative strategies (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Gass and Neu, 1996). Speakers in different speech communities have at their disposal varying sets of linguistic repertoires and cultural scripts for communication within their own groups. I shall often cite examples such as the following to illustrate my discussions: English has speech act utterances such as *hello* or *how are you?* as recurrent greeting expressions, whereas to meet the same ends, Thai and Chinese may opt for phrases approximate to *where are you going to?* (Cooper and Cooper, 1996) and *have you eaten yet?* (Richards, 1982), respectively. According to Searle (1976), there are five classes of speech acts, among which the 'expressives' group together utterances that may be regarded the most directly relevant to the management of social contact and some of the

complexities of human communication. It should be mentioned that the present study rests on the recognition that all languages and the individuals who use them are created equal, and does not thus seek to classify any group as *more* polite or *not* polite.

Empirical studies on linguistic politeness have become more detailed and systematic than ever before, which means that our knowledge of how it is that politeness is perceived and enacted is no longer anecdotal nor does it tend to be documented only as informal accounts in etiquette books or traveller's guides (cf. Sifianou, 1992). As we have seen in recent academic journals and international conferences, research agendas have been prepared to explore politeness and speech act production from interdisciplinary perspectives, notably those of sociolinguistics, contrastive pragmatics, discourse analysis, second language acquisition and cross-cultural communication. The existing literature contains reports of a rich abundance of projects undertaken on politeness phenomena in several varieties of English and other languages, but it is remarkably limited on Thai. Acknowledging that this limitation needs to be redressed for linguists to obtain a wider perspective on this domain of interaction, I have undertaken a comparative analysis of three expressive speech acts in British and Thai societies. Compliments, apologies and thanks belong to the expressive category of speech acts, with the common roles of exhibiting feelings, emotions and attitudes between interactants. Yet these three expressives have their own peculiarities; that is to say, compliments display admiration, apologies convey regret and thanks imply gratitude. The major hypothesis that will be put forward throughout the present project is that, when compared and contrasted, British informants are likely to put a stronger emphasis on producing expressive speech acts than Thai informants, reflecting differences in cultural norms and social values in the two societies as a whole.

My discussions are based on corpus data from native speakers of British English and Thai. The research objectives that I shall attempt to fulfil are: (1) to report in an objective and systematic manner variation in compliments, apologies and thanks in British English and Thai (comparing this, wherever suitable, with data from earlier studies), (2) to present detailed generalisations with regard to the underlying implications of such patterns of usage, and (3) to describe the findings from the point of view of conceptual models from speech act theory, politeness theory and other relevant frameworks that focus on the social life of language and/or interpersonal communication. I believe that my findings will supply a wealth of information addressing the proposals that more politeness research be carried out in languages other than those already extensively studied (see Hill et al., 1986; Olshtain and Cohen, 1989; Watts et al., 1992). They also meet the growing interest in globalisation; here unbiased understanding among members of different cultures is being actively promoted. I am also of the opinion that an awareness of the realisation of politeness forms a very meaningful element of interpersonal skills and will help us a great deal in making the most

sense of interactions with both individuals from the same sociocultur?'
others who belong somewhere beyond.

1.2 Organisation of the Study

Having set the scene for the overall domains of enquiry and the research questions to be addressed, I now outline the coverage of subsequent discussions in this work. This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 2 provides a synthesis of the background literature relevant to politeness studies. It incorporates a critical review of some pragmatic approaches (both within the field of 'ordinary language philosophy' and within other more socially-oriented traditions), and discusses definitions of 'face' and 'politeness', together with Brown and Levinson's groundbreaking 'politeness theory'. The later part of this chapter summarises issues concerning personal reference terms and address usage in European languages and Thai; this inclusion is necessary, because it gives insights into the different social structures and the perception of personhood, when viewed in relation to other members in the society. The chapter goes on to discuss sentence final particles as politeness markers (used in Thai, but not in British English) and mentions the often-neglected factor of non-verbal communication channels. This chapter concludes with a concise summary of what can spark off misunderstandings in interactions involving people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Chapter 3 presents methodological considerations in sociolinguistic and speech act studies, resting on the premise that research credibility can only be conferred on fieldwork that is founded on good data. Although natural speech is generally considered as the most powerful source of reliable findings, it falls short in its inability to produce data for certain research purposes. After touching upon the impact of the ethnographer-subject relationship on the acquisition of data, this chapter evaluates the pros and cons of some methodological alternatives such as questionnaire surveys and role plays, before proposing that the use of a mixture of procedures may help alleviate the different problems associated with each specific data collection method. Chapter 4 goes into greater depth than chapter 1 by introducing the format of discussion in the main data chapters (i.e. chapters 5, 6 and 7). This chapter includes an account of the research methods I adopted, the target populations, the number of speech samples I obtained, the coding schemes employed in categorising the data, the difficulties encountered during the fieldwork periods and a report of the pilot study using a questionnaire survey prior to the follow-up main project. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are essentially my own contribution to this field of research. The findings are reported along the following dimensions: syntactic and lexical characteristics of the expressives, their functions and topics of occurrence, interpersonal and contextual factors that govern speech act production and responses to compliments, apologies and thanks. The discussion of the

natural British English data comes first, followed by that of the Thai data. Each chapter then moves on to consider the elicited findings from 'discourse construction questionnaires' in both languages, and discusses the syntactic and lexical structures of this data set, the use of address forms, personal pronouns, sentence final particles, and responses to written speech acts in the dialogue situations. It must be remembered that since the questionnaires are utilised only for gathering supporting evidence, they will not be analysed as comprehensively as the findings from spontaneous speech. Chapter 8 offers some concluding remarks in the light of the present study's overall data analysis. It describes the common features as well as the discourse functions shared by the expressive speech acts. It also considers the implications of conversational routines for language learning and reports on some of the similarities between politeness theory and other models in the neighbouring fields of the social sciences. I conclude the discussions of this last chapter with some recommendations for additional studies, which I think may benefit linguistic politeness research in future.

CHAPTER 2

Linguistic Politeness: Theoretical Approaches

The present chapter serves as a literature survey on the background theories and related issues fundamental to the study of language use and linguistic politeness. Lying at the intersection where pragmatics meets sociolinguistics, the concept of linguistic politeness analyses constraints on speech performance and discourse organisation. It assumes that there are specific codes of behaviour guiding our attempt to achieve maximum efficiency in interpersonal communication and to manage role relationships with others. A rich abundance of research studies have attested that linguistic politeness is a universal phenomenon and can be seen as a dynamic interface for people who come into contact and interact by means of language.

2.1 Pragmatic Applications

This section deals with some domains of pragmatics, drawing attention specifically to relevant issues in the philosophy of language, different levels of contextual meanings and processes of utterance interpretation. It is believed that, since the abstract and more formal aspects of meaning tend to fall into other realms of linguistics (viz. semantics and semiotics), they are not central to our object of investigation and will not be discussed here.

2.1.1 Speech Act Theory

First introduced in the early 1960s, the concept of speech acts has gained currency in the philosophy of language and in several branches of the social sciences such as pragmatics, second language acquisition, anthropological linguistics and cross-cultural psychology – to mention but a few. Speech acts can be described as a good starting point for the understanding of pragmatics. Scholars working in the philosophy of language tradition have reflected on truth conditions in discourse and attempted to work out how 'meaning' is interpreted and conveyed from one speaker to another. They have taken the viewpoint that language is not simply a tool for imparting information, but it serves other purposes, too. These scholars have also proposed that when we say things, some action is performed either by ourselves or by someone on our behalf. The precursors of speech act theory are John L. Austin and his student-cum-successor John Searle. The ideas entertained in Austin's

posthumous book *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) were refined and further developed by Searle in the latter's subsequent publications (1969, 1975, 1976, 1979).

Austin initially collaborated with other language philosophers in Oxford during the middle part of the 20th century. Most of his colleagues had their interests in the main thesis that language is full of defects and ambiguities and can lead to failure in communication. Austin's concern lay a little beyond this scope. He contends that the ways in which language works may be regarded as irrational (as in 'not based on principles'), but this does not necessarily indicate a potential to impede communication. People have managed to interact 'extremely effectively and relatively unproblematically with language just the way it is' from time immemorial (Thomas, 1995: 29). According to Austin, we only have to accept language as it is and, more precisely, as 'it is used'.

Speech act theory deals more with 'utterance meaning' than 'sentence meaning'. Speech acts are utterances that bring about changes to the existing state of the world. Things are not the same after a speech act has been uttered. In terms of utterance meaning, there are numerous connotations to be inferred from the production of a speech act. To analyse the classic example of the statement *it's cold in here*, a tripartite distinction is commonly used: 'a locutionary act' (the physical act of uttering the statement is taken place), 'an illocutionary force' (the intention that the speaker has assigned to such act) and 'a perlocutionary effect' (the impact of the speaker's utterance, which may or may not result in the hearer performing an action).[1] Of all the three phases, it is the second that is most integral to speech act theory (Bach and Harnish, 1979). It is not a mere declarative sentence when someone says *it's cold in here* (locutionary act) on a typical winter day, because he/she may have numerous intentions (illocutionary forces) such as wanting to keep up the flow of conversation or reprimanding the hearer for not keeping the room warmer. On the other hand, the hearer may then proceed to turn up the central heating (perlocutionary effect), become annoyed by the remark or may just take what has been heard for granted. Another point that can be found in *it's cold in here* is that the hearer may not realise that it was so cold in the room until after the speaker had said it. The speaker creates additional social reality; a newfound knowledge becomes available to the other party. Another classic example is even better. It is apparent that the utterance *can you close the window?* is a request for action, rather than a request for information[2] (an interrogation of the hearer's physical ability). The range of illocutionary

[1] Clark and Carlson (1982) suggest that 'hearer' is dissimilar to 'addressee', because the hearer is not necessarily someone who is being addressed. Although acknowledging this distinction, I hold the view that the speaker means the person who produces a speech act utterance, and the hearer, the person addressed – not anyone within hearing range other than in the dyad. As long as this is made clear by context, I shall continue to use the model of 'speaker/hearer' for the first and second participants in conversation, unless otherwise indicated.

[2] A distinction can be drawn between a request for information and a request for action (see Sifianou, 1992). In this incident, the most sensible reaction would be for the hearer to do something rather than to say *yes* or *no*. The interrogative *have you the time?* is also interesting, in that some people make it a joke by looking at their watches and simply replying *yes*.

forces that can be gleaned from this utterance is extremely broad. The speaker could use it to mean several things: he/she wants the window shut because it is cold, or that there is a stranger hanging around outside and he/she wants the conversation to be private, or that the speaker wishes to direct the hearer's attention to the clock above that window, because it is time they left for dinner. With this case also, the speaker produces another new social reality and (probably) expects the hearer to recognise his/her intention by taking some action (e.g. getting ready). Speech act theory enables us to look at utterances logically and tells us a great deal about the intentions behind a speaker's utterance.

The functions of an utterance come in various forms (Searle, 1969) and speech acts can be realised and embedded in innumerable syntactic constructions. Their clearest form comes with an 'illocutionary force indicating device' (IFID), which may contain either a 'performative verb' (or 'speech act verb', to which the word *hereby* can be meaningfully inserted between the subject and the verb) and a 'ritualised expression'.[3] Ritualised expressions are discussed further in 6.3.1.1 and 7.3.1.1. In most circumstances, performative verbs are associated with formal events (e.g. naming a ship or avowing a marriage), whose propositional contents are clear and straightforward (see Thomas (1995) for a discussion of different types of performatives). Consider the following: *I* hereby *declare my disassociation from Matthew* (an act of terminating friendship); *I* hereby *apologise for being late* (an act of apology); and *I* hereby *plead not guilty of adultery* (an act of objection). Austin (1962: 14-15) mentions that an utterance cannot be a legitimate speech act unless it observes the 'felicity conditions': briefly, the people involved and the context of speaking must be 'happy' (in the sense of being right and appropriate). The three illustrations above will be 'infelicitous' if the truth conditions are not abided by: I cannot disassociate from Matthew if I do not even have a friend so called; I do not have to be responsible for the delay of a meeting if I always arrive on time; and I do not have to worry about the court's verdict if the supporting evidence proves my innocence. There may be many other possible explanations that can validate as well as invalidate the felicity conditions of a speech act, provided one is acute enough to explore them.

The above discussion on IFIDs correlates with 'direct speech acts' or explicit illocutionary acts. Searle (1975: 59) states that 'the simplest cases of meaning are those in which the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says'. Nevertheless, some other speech acts do not show such directness or have such fixed grammatical features. Largely contextually bound, these are known as 'indirect speech acts'. Note that the classic instances exemplified earlier (i.e. *it's cold in here* and *can you close the*

[3] There have been arguments over the exact number of speech acts and the functions they can satisfy. It must be stressed that not just any verb can realise a speech act. *I bet* and *I wish* lend themselves well to the job, whereas *I run* necessitates the speaker to *actually* run, on top of saying *I run*... (see Graddol et al., 1994: 122).

window?) are located towards the indirect end of the speech act continuum. Searle (1975: 60-61) postulates that 'in indirect speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer'. This view has probably arisen from the problem that it is hard to generalise about whether the speaker's intention is to be found in the literal sense of the utterance or in a potentially very wide range of other senses. An attentive adult speaker can often identify at least a few of them – which could eventually lead to the most relevant information (see 2.1.6 and Sadock, 1974).

After some reflection on the background of speech act theory, let us now consider the classification schemes formulated by its founders. Austin's (1962) model classifies speech acts as follows:

1. Verdictives (delivery of finding, reasons or objective fact)
2. Exercitives (requests, in general)
3. Commissives (commitment to a certain course of action)
4. Expositives (expounding of subjective views or arguments)
5. Behabitives (reaction to others' behaviour and attitudes).

As is common with any new theory, what Austin conceived has been subject to many criticisms (Searle, 1977; Leech, 1983; Mey, 1993). The first flaw is the overlap of his classificatory criteria (Mey, 1993: 151). Austin's explanation of the nature of each category is not solid, and some labels are not always mutually exclusive but also interchangeable. For example, categories 1 and 4 have, in one way or another, similar connotations. Furthermore, he included the verb DESCRIBE in both categories and verbs of request (ASK, DEMAND) in types 2 and 5. A further weakness is what critics call the 'illocutionary-verb fallacy' or 'performative fallacy' (Leech, 1983). Austin assumes that there is a one-to-one and definite correspondence between speech act types and speech act verbs in the English language. This is a precarious conception, because, as we have discussed, speech acts are not only subtle in meaning, they can also be structured in many forms and involve hundreds of verbs – quite contrary to Austin's explanation.

It was not until Searle revised the theory that Austin's ideas became clearer (note that the contents of each type remain more or less similar but more plausible). Along with his criticisms, Searle (1976) proposed a new speech act taxonomy:

1. Representatives (or Assertives)
   (the speaker's commitment to the truth of the expressed propositions, using the true/false criterion, e.g. BELIEVE, CONCLUDE, DEDUCE, REPORT)
2. Directives
   (the speaker's attempt to get the hearer to do something, e.g. ASK, REQUEST, BEG, COMMAND, ORDER)

3. Commissives
   (the speaker's commitment or obligation to perform some future course of action (as opposite to directives where the hearer has to do the action), e.g. SWEAR, PROMISE, REASSURE, GUARANTEE)
4. Expressives
   (the speaker's attempt to express his/her psychological attitudes towards the hearer, e.g. APOLOGISE, THANK, WELCOME, CONGRATULATE, WISH)
5. Declarations
   (the speaker's verbal declaration that alters the state of affairs of an object or a situation, e.g. RESIGN, FIRE, APPOINT, CHRISTEN, DECLARE).

It is generally believed that, with his more detailed scrutiny, Searle managed to narrow down the scope of speech act theory, which Austin had left incoherent. Even so, Searle was not very successful in distancing himself from the problem of the illocutionary-verb fallacy. This can be attested by the fact that, like Austin, Searle illustrated his arguments almost entirely with performative verbs. Placing human verbal behaviour into all-inclusive categories is never an easy enterprise, and multi-faceted aspects of illocutionary forces can only be 'tentatively' incorporated into five different types and their associating performatives. There are several places in Searle's writings where an exemplified speech act is given a reasonable illocutionary force, but does not fit neatly in one of his categories (Ben-Amos, 1981: 115). A good example is the verb INSIST, which sits on the fence in the classification. Whilst *I* insist *that Socrates was mortal* is a representative (assertive) speech act, *I* insist *that you leave the room immediately* clearly serves another force, as a directive (Ben-Amos, ibid.). Speech act theory is aptly pragmatics-based, but seems to ignore the often fickle nature of reality. Leech (1983: 177) propounds that 'it is to commit a fundamental and obvious error to assume that the distinctions made by our vocabulary necessarily exist in reality'. Despite these inadequacies, speech act theory remains a prerequisite of pragmatics studies. Many scholars (Leech, 1983; Mey, 1993; Thomas, 1995; Wardhaugh, 1998) have suggested that social factors and contextual parameters have to be taken into account so as to strengthen Austin's and Searle's proposals.

2.1.2 Cooperative Principle and Notions of Implicatures

Like Austin and Searle, H.P. Grice is another philosopher interested in language and logic (in fact, he was also Austin's student). Grice (1971, 1978) devised a principle that he hoped would epitomise behavioural characteristics such as good manners, mutual consideration and offence avoidance. However, Grice himself never developed his ideas into a full theory (Thomas, 1995), nor does he state clearly that it operates in every conversation. Under the influence of Kant especially, Grice's 'cooperative principle' (CP), together with four maxims, runs as follows:

1. Maxim of Quantity relates to the adequate amount of information to be provided. There are two sub-maxims: (i) make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange); and (ii) do not make your contribution more informative than it is required.
2. Maxim of Quality relates to an urge to make one's contribution one that is true. The two sub-maxims to this maxim are: (i) do not say what you believe to be false; and (ii) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
3. Maxim of Relation relates to the urge to make one's contribution one that is appropriate to the immediate needs of the situation. There is only one sub-maxim: be relevant.
4. Maxim of Manner relates to the need to be 'perspicuous' (that is, to be clear when giving information). There are four sub-maxims: (i) avoid obscurity of expression; (ii) avoid ambiguity; (iii) be brief; and (iv) be orderly.

The major thrust of Grice's thinking has to do with the reciprocal efforts that each participant is expected to contribute in their ongoing interaction. In the view expressed by Green (1989: 88), the details of sub-maxims 'tend to strike the naive reader variously as common sense, wishful thinking, or composition teachers' futile rules'. In order not to impede the interpretation of messages, the speaker and hearer are assumed to stick to these maxims of which people do not seem to be consciously aware and about which Grice (1975: 48) claims that 'they have learned to do so [i.e. to internalise them] in childhood and not lost the habit of doing so; and indeed, it would involve a good deal of effort to make a radical departure from the habit'. Natural conversations are a huge distance from idealisation, and Grice's maxims are often thought to operate as rules. Although the maxim's functionalities contradict each other to varying degrees (see below), my contention is that they provide suggestions as to how to make our contribution worthwhile and efficient in all types of discourse. In Grice's defence, Chapman (2000: 131) explains that 'the co-operative principle is intended to be *descriptive*, describing what people do when they engage in conversation, rather than *prescriptive*, laying down laws for how they ought to behave'.

Several scholars (Leech, 1983; Levinson, 1983; Watts, 1992, among others) have suspected that if what Grice has said really holds true, and also that if everybody converses according to these four maxims, there should not be so many problems in conversation. For fear of communication breakdown, the speaker may have recourse to a set of principles to hold on to, but it is a mistake to presume that they would not behave verbally in any other way. When we check the maxims against spontaneous conversation, it is quite easy to pin down inconsistencies in Grice's views, in terms of their overtly regulative characteristics.

The first maxim (of quantity) is inadequate in terms of explanation. Grice did not tell us how 'much' information is required when the hearer needs to answer the speaker's question. In fact, using grammatical devices for comparison (such as 'more' or 'less') as Grice (1975: 47) did, does not help much in the guesswork. When asked for directions to a local museum, for example, one may wonder which answers between the following would be

more appropriate: *just around the corner* or *see that signpost? Walk past it and turn left at the first block, then you will see...* Both are informative, but the second is much more so (in the sense that it is more helpful for the hearer in reaching his desired destination). Tautologies (such as *war is war* and *women are women*) also flout this maxim; however, no one would doubt that such repetitions are to be accounted for only by their forms (cf. Grice, 1975: 52).

With regard to his second maxim (of quality), Grice (ibid.) has observed that 'it is much easier [...] to tell the truth than to invent lies'. This postulate is supposedly very difficult to follow and subject to regular violation (Mey, 1993). People abide by the maxim of quality as long as they are comfortable with the situation at hand, but it is usually the case that, for the sake of personal freedom, they would rather that some information be reported with falsehood than truthfulness. Simply put, it is more helpful to lie when being truthful can be more troublesome. For example, the defendant in court always manipulates the truth (either by being partially truthful or by telling lies) in their attempt to be proved not guilty. In the same vein, the linguistic fieldworker often obscures or leaves the facts about their identity as researcher unspoken in order that good and substantial data can be obtained (see 3.1). The maxim of quality is associated with higher moral standards than others, to which Green (1989: 89) has added that 'violating it amounts to a moral offense, whereas violating the others is at worst inconsiderate or rude'.

The third maxim (of relation) does not correspond to real-life discourse; people may say things that seem irrelevant at first sight, but later appear to be appropriately relevant when considered in context. Sudden changes of topic and the use of echo sentences show how easily this maxim can be flouted.[4] However, the occurrence of such seemingly irrelevant speech features is purposeful and does not blur meaning (see 2.1.6).

Looking at the fourth maxim (of manner), the constituents of its four sub-maxims are relatively overlapping (see Levinson, 1983). Close inspection shows that sub-maxims 1 and 2 can become one, and sub-maxim 3 is a repetition of the maxim of quantity. Suppose we take 'being clear' to be the main preoccupation of the maxim of manner, another problem is that speech events with literary and informal devices (such as metaphor, idiom, hyperbole, proverb, irony, joking) are breaches to clarity of expression (Fowler, 1996). Nevertheless, these are an ordinary everyday practice and constitute special effects to the meaning of discourse in a subtle and creative way.

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[4] Echo sentences repeat all or some parts of the previous sentence, and are used to confirm and question the first speaker's utterance (Crystal, 1995: 219). The B parts are echo sentences: (1) A: *What should I do next?* B: *What should you do next?* and (2) A: *What a fantastic day!* B: *What a fantastic day, indeed!* Although to answer a question with another (similar) question and to respond to an exclamation by another exclamation do not make sense initially, rhetorically-minded interactants intend these devices to achieve some communicative purposes.

In ideal situations, all four CP maxims can be observed within a single stretch of conversation, as in example 1 (taken from Thomas, 1995: 64).

Example 1
Husband: Where are the car keys?
Wife: They're on the table in the hall.

The wife gave the right amount of information (maxim 1), truthfully (maxim 2), to the point (maxim 3) and in a clear manner (maxim 4). However, the four maxims do not always operate independently of one another, since there may be times when, say, a speaker opts out of one maxim in favour of another maxim. Scholars often refer to this phenomenon as a 'clash of maxims'. If someone were asked to name the most recent film from the Bond series, she might stutter and ramble for a while with *Golden Eyes*, *Tomorrow Never Dies* or *The World is Not Enough*. Such a hesitant response flouts the maxim of quantity by providing more information than is necessary (actually the hearer could just have said *sorry* or *I don't remember* to observe this maxim). We can deduce from this instance that the maxim of quantity was put at stake and clashes with the maxim of quality: the hearer was not so confident about the exact answer, but concerned more about *quality* rather than *quantity*.

The divergence of people's speech behaviour from the maxims prompts us to consider another level of meaning attribution, where we owe Grice the notions of 'conventional' and 'conversational' implicatures. Both types of implicatures assign sense and reference beyond the semantic implications of the utterance (hence Grice preferred the term 'implicature' to 'implication'). On the one hand, the truth-conditional aspects of conventional implicatures are embedded in the convention set out for the utterance, and there is no shift in meaning, even if the situation changes (for example, 'last', as an adjective, conventionally implicates an entity being final in a sequence) (see Levinson, 1983; Thomas, 1995). On the other hand, conversational implicatures are more unpredictable and suggest that what is implied is dependent on the context ('last' can also be conversationally implicated; as an adjective, it may have a wider meaning than *final*, since it can also signifies *previous*, as in *last summer* (Mey, 1993; Gazdar, 1979). Conversational implicatures link available pieces of meaning together and seek to establish optimal relevance among them. According to Grice (1975), conversational implicatures can eventually be worked out, on condition that important information such as the particulars of the speech event and the prior knowledge shared by the speakers are taken into consideration (Grice, 1975). I find the extract below (adapted from Thomas, 1995: 59) very interesting:

Example 2
A was in conversation with B, her young nephew, about the batteries of her electric toothbrush going flat.
A: That's funny. I thought I put in some new batteries.
B: [Going extremely red] The ones in my engine [toy train] still work.

We can see from this short interchange that the most pertinent (conversational) implicatures are: (1) A was suspecting that B had switched her batteries and (2) B was, by virtue of his naivety as a child, unknowingly revealing that he was responsible for the theft. Hypothesising an implicature is a risky undertaking and can turn out to be incorrect and, consequently, get the analyst into trouble. In any event, as with example 2, the fact that A found out later that B in fact did switch batteries gives good justification for the proposal that implicatures assist us in discovering different kinds of meaning as they manifest themselves in interaction, whether explicitly or implicitly.

2.1.3 Logic of Politeness

In her well-known article, Lakoff (1973) set out rules in relation to grammatical well-formedness and politeness. She asserts that there are some conditions that dictate our choice of linguistic devices according to the pragmatic acceptability of propositions. To validate the sentence *the present king of France is bald*, at least there must still be a monarchy in France (general awareness of the world) and the monarch must be male and bald at this point in time (acceptability for the adoption of the present tense). There is no ambiguity on the semantic level of analysis, in that this sentence is grammatically correct. On pragmatic grounds, however, it is obvious that the truth values of *the present king of France is bald* is very weak and not valid as a logical proposition (or 'syntactically ill-formed', as Lakoff would call it), since France has been a Republic for several centuries. Looking at another example, to say that *John has lived in Paris* implies that John must still be alive (for the use of the present perfect tense to be considered applicable), otherwise this statement would also be syntactically ill-formed. Lakoff postulates further that the way in which a speaker chooses to produce an utterance says something about the relationship between him/herself and the hearer.

Lakoff moves further to cover this issue in her model of 'rules of pragmatic competence', with two basic components:

1. Be clear
2. Be polite.

She (1973: 296) explains that 'if one seeks to communicate a message directly, if one's principal aim in speaking is communication, one will attempt to be *clear*, so that there is no mistaking one's intention' [my italics]. It can be seen that the undertones of Grice's maxim of manner is present here: when expressing thoughts, one needs to take account of clarity of expression. In addition, she (1973: 297-298) notes that 'politeness supersedes: it is considered more important in a conversation to avoid offense than to achieve clarity'. As an

extension to the rules of pragmatic competence, she proposed the 'rules of politeness' (which, in her 1975 work, were altered into formality, deference and camaraderie) as follows:

1. Don't impose (remain aloof; do not intrude into other people's business)
2. Give options (let A make his own decisions; leave his options open for him)
3. Make A feel good (be friendly).

Formality decreases as we go down from rules 1 to 3. When operating in the same part of a conversation, these precepts can reinforce and also be in conflict with each other (see also Fraser, 1990b: 224). Rule 1 has to do with formal situations where speakers are to act verbally politely due to apparent difference in status and/or distance between speakers, such as using prefacing devices or asking permission from the other party with whom one is not familiar before inquiring about personal matters. Rule 2 relates to a more flexible degree of politeness and is associated with informal situations, in particular where there is only minimal or equal distance between speakers. A device typical of rule 2 is the use of hedges to indicate tentativeness and weak emotional commitments. Rule 3 is called for in situations where intimate politeness in required and when the participants are very close as friends or family members. For instance, informal address terms (e.g. the adoption of first names, nicknames and diminutives) are employed in rule-3 conversations. However, the order of importance of these rules may vary. It might be argued that although all rules of politeness can 'make A feel good', they do the job in different ways. Rules 1 and 3 can be co-existent, but are not incompatible. An example may be when one wants to observe formality when performing a business transaction with a newly met business partner (rule 1), but at the same time also wants to ask a trivial question, such as the time when the partner's parking space will expire (rule 3). On a superficial level, the speaker is violating rule 1 in favour of rule 3. In my opinion, though, both rules can work together and do not result in 'politeness conflict' (cf. Lakoff, 1973: 304). In other words, the fact that a business meeting is generally of a formal nature should not suggest that one ought to refrain from showing concern for the other's welfare. Giving more importance to rule 3, A brings to the attention of B the fact that the building only allows 30 minutes parking at a time; A has attempted to be friendly (though not as a friend) such that he successfully spared B from getting a ticket.

Lakoff's 1973 paper has become another classic by virtue of its initiatives in exploring linguistic politeness (Fraser, 1990b; Green, 1989; Sifianou, 1992). In a later work (Lakoff, 1989: 103), she extended the scope of her investigation from rules of politeness into a three-fold continuum: 'polite', 'non-polite' and 'rude'. Polite behaviour is useful to social harmony, but is the least interesting case on the grounds that it requires strict conformity to rules of verbal etiquette. Non-polite behaviour indicates an absence of politeness and

situations where adherence to Lakoff's politeness rules is not anticipated. Rudeness invokes a risk to camaraderie and exemplifies a confrontational speech event where politeness is expected, but not used by the participants. Kasper (1990: 209) comments that 'politic behavior normally goes unnoticed, rudeness is conspicuous and in most ordinary conversation calls for redress'. Lakoff (1989: 102), probably the first scholar to explore 'politeness' from a pragmatic perspective, defined politeness as 'a means of minimising the risk of confrontation in discourse' – a thesis which is more fully discussed in 2.1.4. It could, therefore, be inferred that politeness is a strategy used along with conventional forms of interactional behaviour for the avoidance of conflict. Unlike Austin, Searle or Grice, Lakoff (1975) holds a more permissive view about truth conditions: people are not generally concerned much about being 'genuine' or truthfully considerate towards each other. She also seems to suggest that one may use politeness strategies whenever appropriate, but whether one's intention is to be genuinely polite is another matter.

2.1.4 Politeness Principle

Leech's contribution to pragmatics has been substantial, encompassing most of the elements of what his predecessors had covered. The influence of Austin, Searle, Grice and Lakoff can be felt throughout Leech's *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983), especially in the author's attempt to expand on Grice's CP with his 'politeness principle' (PP).

Leech made a distinction between an 'illocutionary goal' and a 'social goal' when someone enters into a conversation; that is, the bare fact that interaction is underway, and the circumstance in which a speaker takes part, which suggests whether the person is being truthful, dishonest, polite, ironic, or the like (Fraser, 1990b: 224). Leech was interested in the effective use of everyday language. With this enthusiasm come two communicative paradigms, which he calls 'interpersonal rhetoric' and 'textual rhetoric'. It is the territory of interpersonal rhetoric that will concern us most in the present discussion. The interpersonal rhetoric consists of three broad sets of principles (CP, PP and 'irony principle' (IP)). Leech makes a case for giving equal importance to these mutually cooperative principles. The CP is a pragmatic model for gathering implicatures from an ambiguous utterance. The PP, though not unequivocally serving to bring a speaker's intention to the surface like the CP, explains the reason behind non-conformity to the CP, and is crucial in helping us select appropriate expressions (both in form and content) for polite speech behaviour. The IP stands in a position below the other two principles. Leech (1983: 142) explains that the IP enables a speaker to be impolite while seeming to be polite. One may wonder how someone can be 'polite' while simultaneously being ironic; in fact, we *can* do that as a second-order politeness (Leech, ibid.). The irony principle often co-exists with other the two principles in

interpersonal rhetoric, by being a compromise when there is a clash between the CP and PP. Indirect utterances that indulge in an honest form of apparent deception serve this purpose. Consider an exchange when someone (A) says *Geoff has just borrowed your car* and B says in response *well, I like that.* B, obviously annoyed, produces an untruthful but polite remark about Geoff. According to the IP, B's intention could be regarded as being impolite to Geoff but, at the same time, honest with the truth conditions (Leech, 1983: 83).

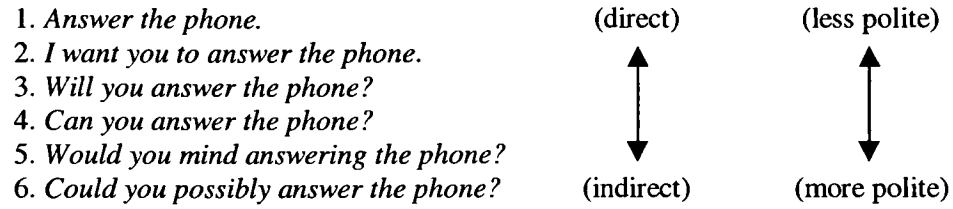
Leech conceptualises politeness as an addressee-oriented phenomenon, on the assumption that the hearer's benefit should be attended to, to the full. He proposed six pragmatic scales that exert a conditioning effect on six separate PP maxims (see below). As with the pragmatic scales, he (1983: 123-138) introduced the 'cost-benefit' scale where the speaker (self) is put at one end and the hearer (other) at the other end. The more cost to the hearer means the less polite the speaker would appear in the estimation of the hearer. In other words, the hearer must be assigned with more benefit than the speaker him/herself in all circumstances. The second scale is the 'optionality' scale, relating to the amount of choice a speaker gives to a hearer (cf. Lakoff's rule 2). The third scale is the 'indirectness' scale, which accounts for the extent of inferences to be made with respect to an illocution. The fourth is the 'authority' scale, necessitating the speaker to monitor his/her right while imposing wishes on the hearer. The fifth is the 'social distance' scale, relating to the relative familiarity of both interactants. Finally, the sixth scale is the 'praise-dispraise' scale, which constrains the speaker to make his/her favourable opinion of the hearer known as much as possible.

Besides the six pragmatic scales, Leech further developed his PP maxims and enumerated them in association with Searle's categories of illocutions:

1. Tact Maxim (in impositives (known elsewhere as 'directives') and commissives)
    A. Minimise cost to other
    B. Maximise benefit to other.

The tact maxim is considered the most integral element of politeness. Speech acts such as requests and orders should, according to this maxim, be performed in the least verbally costly manner with respect to the hearer. To say *peel these potatoes* is costly to the hearer and thus regarded as impolite, whereas to say *look at that sports car!* is less costly and less impolite (because the hearer, in one way or another, benefits from viewing the car). An offer such as *care for a sandwich?* is also polite (when compared to the above order and request), as it is uttered for the benefit of the hearer (Leech, 1983: 107). Questions rendered in the normal interrogative form (e.g. *would you like another beer?*) and in the negative form (e.g. *won't you help yourself to the food?*) leave options open to the hearer and sound more polite than when produced in bare imperatives. Directives produced indirectly achieve greater

politeness and bring about benefit to the hearer. Leech (1983: 108) points out that 'indirect illocutions tend to be more polite (a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be'. Consider six possible ways of asking someone to answer a phonecall (adapted from Leech, ibid.):



The degree of directness decreases from 1 down to 6. In terms of the optionality scale, the speaker has achieved greater politeness by playing down the force of the directive through more use of interrogatives. The illocutionary goal of the speaker in all items remains the same (i.e. *I want you to answer the phone*).

2. Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
   A. Minimise benefit to self
   B. Maximise cost to self.

The generosity maxim is affiliated to speech acts such as requests, offers and invitations. The central mechanism of this maxim is the concern that a speaker has to act generously when making offers and invitations. To say **you can lend me your car* sounds rather absurd and less polite than to say *I can lend you my car*. In the same way, it is customary for a host to form a polite invitation such as *you must come and have dinner with us*, rather than the guest inviting him/herself over with **we must come and have dinner with you*.

3. Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
   A. Minimise dispraise of other
   B. Maximise praise of other.

Most speech acts that 'make the hearer feel good' are categorised under the approbation maxim. Leech cautioned against a possible negative outcome: should this maxim not be applied in moderation, the approbation would sound insincere and the maxim could be called the 'flattery maxim' instead. According to the approbation maxim, it is advisable to be polite by saying pleasant things about the hearer and the third party, and not to contradict them. Praising and complimenting have a bearing on the speech act exhibiting approbation. Therefore, it is polite to offer kind words like *your performance was outstanding!*, while criticism like **what an awful meal you cooked!* is to be avoided. As regards being polite to the third party, uttering a favourable opinion like *her performance was great, wasn't it?* is acceptable. However, a reply such as **was it?* to this question is a breach of this maxim.

Thomas (1995: 162-163) notes that 'we prefer to praise others and if we cannot do so, to sidestep the issue, to give some sort of minimal response (*Well...*) or to remain silent'. The approbation maxim states that it is only felicitous to verbalise agreeable judgements about others, but when you do not feel like doing so, it is probably best to say nothing at all.

4. Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
   A. Minimise praise of self
   B. Maximise dispraise of self.

The modesty maxim is the mirror image of the approbation maxim. The speech acts associated with the two are of similar kinds (e.g. praising and giving favourable comments), but utterances typical of the modesty maxim attach more bearing to the importance of 'self' as an agent (cf. tact and generosity maxims). One has to be modest to be polite. Lack of modesty indicates boastfulness (Leech, 1983: 136). Understating one's generosity invokes the operation of the modesty maxim (expressions of self-dispraise also count), as in the following instances: *please accept this small gift as a token of our esteem* and *how stupid of me!* The force of these illocutions would be the opposite were *small* and *stupid* subsequently substituted by *big* and *clever*. In normal spoken discourse, we may often see a clash of the PP maxims, as in examples 3 and 4 (adapted from Thomas, 1995: 164):

Example 3
A: This coffee isn't bad, is it?
B: It's very good.

and also with the same speakers a little later on:

Example 4
B: This coffee is very good.
A: It's not bad, is it?

What is interesting here is that A was attending to the modesty maxim throughout, while B was putting more importance on the approbation maxim. Though representing a maxim clash, these short exchanges are innocuous and do not pose a threat to good interpersonal harmony. A dramatic outcome may be the case with a (somewhat unlikely) incident where someone goes on-record to express self-praise such as *come and sit on my luxurious couch the like of which I don't imagine you've ever seen before!*, where the maxims of tact and modesty have been violated in the same breath.

5. Agreement Maxim (in assertives)
   A. Minimise disagreement between self and other
   B. Maximise agreement between self and other.

Leech (1983: 138) speculates that other maxims of politeness are only of minimal importance and lack empirical evidence. It is not clear what Leech had in mind with this

proposal, but I am inclined to think that this is not entirely correct, on the grounds that in general, people are likely to contribute their turns for the sake of successful communication. In other words, we seem happy enough doing our best to 'agree with others'. This at least shows that the agreement maxim is pervasive and as significant as all others. To simply use expressions that are in support of what a previous speaker has said invokes this maxim, as the following conversation illustrates (adapted from Leech, 1983: 183), where B^1 and B^2 are possible answers:

Example 5
A: The referendum will satisfy everybody.
B^1: Yes, definitely.
(B^2: True. I agree. I'm sure it'll bring a lot of changes.)

These replies are polite and show positive acknowledgement of A's utterance. If the hearer thinks that politeness is not necessary, perhaps disagreeing responses such as *no, you're wrong. I don't agree* would be called for.

6. Sympathy Maxim (in assertives)
   A. Minimise antipathy between self and other
   B. Maximise sympathy between self and other.

The sympathy maxim can be considered together with the agreement maxim; it is polite to agree with other participants and to show that we think their opinion is correct. We may move one step beyond to observe the sympathy maxim, such as to offer someone expressions of congratulations for a happy event that has befallen them, as in *you're so lucky to get this job*. On the other hand, in the case of an unfavourable incident, it is courteous to express condolences (even though this may sound negative and is costly to the hearer) to show that one is concerned about their misfortune such as *I'm sorry to hear that your cat died.* However, people in a very close relationship may find an utterance like *so sorry, but I'm glad that the cat died eventually* quite acceptable (even though it still sounds unfavourable), if it happened that the cat had long been suffering from a serious illness. Example 6 (especially the last turn) (taken from Leech, 1983: 139) is an unthinkable scenario:

Example 6
A: I'm delighted to hear about your cat.
B: What do you mean? He's just died.
A: Precisely.

At face value, A was offering a congratulation while the immediate context necessitated an expression of condolence (non-observance of the sympathy maxim). To say *precisely* may conform to the agreement maxim, but, when considered in context, this is attributable to A ostentatiously violating the sympathy maxim and being downright inhumane.

Critics of Leech's work (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Fraser, 1990b; Kasper, 1990; Sifianou, 1992) seem to be in agreement that his approach to pragmatics is the most capable

of overcoming the pitfalls encountered by his predecessors. *Principles of Pragmatics* has further elaborated on speech act theory, rescued the problems inherent in the CP and pursued the rules of politeness drafted by Lakoff. It could be said still that there is no absolute way of restricting maxims of politeness to definite boundaries (Thomas, 1995). This reflects the intricacies of human conversation, which is hard to explain by means of a bounded theory like the PP. Having said that, the PP serves as an influential basis for various investigations into cross-cultural differences in language use in later years, as will become clear as our discussion proceeds.

2.1.5 Conversational Contract View of Appropriate Speech

Fraser and Nolen (1981) followed the tradition of Grice (Fraser, 1990b). Their approach to pragmatics is, though only occasionally cited, no less insightful than others. Fraser and Nolen postulate that conversations are there for both the speaker and the hearer to implement their rights and obligations to one another. A change of context and interpersonal factors as well as interruptions to the flow of talk influence the grounds for the re-negotiation of friendship. Miscommunication may occur when the expectations held by each party do not synchronise. Fraser and Nolen suggest that politeness is not only a 'conversation contract', but also a basis for showing mutual deference. This proposal can be divided into two types of terms. The 'general terms' cover essentials such as that the speakers must speak the same language, pronounce words loudly enough and use the right tempo to be heard and understood correctly. The 'specific terms' have to do with the 'types' of speech acts that interactants can use when the relative authority of the participants come into play (e.g. a child generally does not order his/her parents around; an employee does not take the liberty of criticising his/her employer openly); and with the 'content' of some speech acts that is germane to certain relationships only (e.g. a daughter does not generally discuss her new boyfriend with her parents or lecturers, only with friends; when at a physician's, it is irrelevant to discuss salary rates). Generally speaking, requests are common between status equals, whereas orders are reserved for speakers of higher status only. Likewise, to comment neutrally indicates status equality, whereas to criticise indicates that the speaker has more expertise, dominance as well as authority (Fraser and Nolen, 1981: 95). The major tenet of Fraser and Nolen's conversational contract rests on the premise that 'to be polite is to abide by the rules of the relationship' (Fraser and Nolen, 1981: 96).

2.1.6 Relevance Theory

Compared with the development of ideas in related fields, 'relevance theory' (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) is becoming increasingly influential and represents a centrifugal force, showing that modern pragmatics is slowly moving in yet another thought-provoking direction (see Yus Ramos, 1998). The theory has been widely accepted (despite overwhelming criticisms) such that it has become necessary to outline some rudiments of Sperber and Wilson's thinking here.

As a point of departure, Sperber and Wilson put the CP under scrutiny and surmise that Grice's maxims have continued to be criticised by researchers for various reasons. They proposed that his four maxims can be reduced to just one 'principle of relevance', as an extension to the maxim of relation. Their assumption is that there is no guarantee that interactants would, according to Grice's prediction, achieve the ideal of being concise (maxim of quantity), factual (maxim of quantity) or clear (maxim of manner); but the simple truth is that people cannot violate the maxim of relation should their aim be to communicate nor to make their messages clear by means of *ostention* (the intention to make one's behaviour perceptible and disambiguated) (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 49; see also Cruse, 2000). On similar lines, communication does not necessarily have to be brief, informative or evident in its goal – *it just has to be relevant* (Mey, 1993: 80-81). Relevance theory goes beyond the normal realm of pragmatics to incorporate our cognitive environment. Of note is the speculation that a number of terms used by Sperber and Wilson are borrowed from computer science, and for this reason, it could be inferred that the authors take human psychological and mental capacities to be the equivalent of a decoding tool that only retrieves the most relevant information. Normally, when dyads enter into a conversation, the speaker will have the intention of communicating something to the other party (see Blakemore, 1992: 32-37). The hearer will then have to access whatever is stored in his/her short- and long-term memory, plus mutually shared assumptions he/she may have with the speaker, in order to test whether her assumption conforms to the maximally optimal relevance of that context of speaking. Several things can be deduced from the speaker's proposition (whether verbal, non-verbal or written), but most of the time, it is only the most manifest (relevant or 'ostensive') interpretation that is worth aiming at for information processing. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 49-50) give as illustration a man (A) and woman (B) sitting on a park bench. A starts to lean back deliberately, allowing B to capture visual images that were previously blocked as a result of A sitting up straight. With this, B witnesses three individuals: an ice cream vendor, a lone stroller and their acquaintance, William, who is walking towards them. Out of the three possible assumptions presented to her, it is out of the question, according to relevance theory, that A simply wants to

communicate the fact that William is soon to join their interaction (the most plausible and easily accessible referent that deserves B's cognitive effort in decoding).

Relevance theory introduces a further development: that is, the notion of 'explicatures', to be contrasted with Grice's 'implicatures'. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 182) declare that 'we will call an explicitly communicated assumption an explicature. Any assumption communicated, but not explicitly so, is implicitly communicated: it is an implicature'. There is no absolute line of differentiation between the two conceptions (Yus-Ramos, 1998). But broadly speaking, an explicature is 'entailed' by possible explicit interpretations of a proposition, whereas implicatures derive from connotations that have to be 'inferentially deduced' (similar to indirect speech acts). For a decontextualised statement such as *Angel parking* (Grundy, 2000: 102), we can arrive at a fully elaborated propositional form (i.e. explicature) that this is 'a road sign which guides drivers attending an exhibition of a sculpture, known as the 'Angel of the North', to the area where they are able to park their car'. Notice that there are no further explicatures to be gleaned from this context. In addition, I take it that the same phrase is able to call forth several implicit generalisations (implicatures), if found in other contexts. That is, *Angel parking!* may be intended as a word of reprimand (said to a child who has consistently asked at which spot his father will park their car) or an agreement-seeking act that a speaker deploys in the hope that the his friend (the hearer) would accompany him to an restaurant called *Angel Parking*.

2.2 Facework Applications

In communicating with friends, relatives and others, it is natural that we need our social and psychological identities as a member of a speech community to be recognised, accepted and appreciated. We choose to present ourselves in such a way as to achieve both individual and group goals in accordance with appropriate norms. 'Face' is closely intertwined with these aspects of human relationships and the enactment of politeness, where the speaker and hearer negotiate their solidarity, power and status. Face 'can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and any threat to face must be continually monitored during an interaction' (Fraser, 1990b: 229).

2.2.1 Concept of Face

The notion of 'face', as elaborated in sociolinguistics and pragmatics, has little to do with the physical meaning of the term (e.g. *he has an oval face*), but more with the abstract, sociological sense. It goes without saying that the latter has derived its present connotation from the former and that the two are interrelated. 'Face' is a universal and long-standing topic of discussion, supposedly having become well-known in the Far East prior to its advent

in the West. It was only in 1876 that the term was first introduced in an English publication, where 'face' was assumed to have a Chinese origin and was translated as carrying a range of meanings of the core concept of 'honour', or 'reputation' in the sense of 'good name' (Scollon and Scollon, 1995: 34). In English, expressions involving the word 'face' come several in number: 'losing face', 'saving face', 'showing someone a good face' or 'putting on a good face' (see Watts et al., 1992: 9). We find a variety of other interesting combinations incorporating the word 'face' in other languages as well. In Thai, for example, the expression *khăaj nâa* (literally, to 'sell one's face') means humiliating one's self-esteem or self-image by having behaved disgracefully or against acceptable social conventions. Similar lines of speculation are applicable to the Chinese expression *tui lian*, 'to throw (away) one's face' (see Hu, 1944; Ho, 1976; Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994), the Igbo expression *imecu iru* 'to darken one's face' (Nwoye, 1992: 314), or the Japanese expression *kao wo tsubusu* 'to crush (someone's) face' (see Morisaki and Gudykunst, 1994: 48; Lebra, 1976).

Goffman is the most prominent sociologist to have worked on the concept of 'face'. As outlined in his discussion (Goffman, 1955: 215), while a person's face is regarded as 'his most personal possession and the center of his security and pleasure, it is on loan from society; it will be withdrawn unless he conducts himself in a way that is worthy of it'. Generally called 'facework', this process of interaction has bi-polar characteristics. Not only must we focus on our face being morally maintained as a proper one, we must also do the same with others' face (also Goffman, 1959, 1971). The former is known as the 'defensive strategy', which safeguards the benefits of self, and the latter is known as the 'protective strategy', which a person can use to show 'respect and politeness, making sure to extend to others any ceremonial treatment which might be their due' (Goffman, 1955: 218). In an ideal situation, the speaker prevents potential threats to his/her face by keeping off subjects or information that are against his/her will (defensive strategy). On the other hand, he/she uses discretion or leaves unsaid the facts that may contradict or embarrass others; in this way, he/she bestows respect and politeness towards others. When the speaker and the hearer are on good terms, the participants are conversationally interdependent and mutually responsible for making such interaction as smooth as possible.

2.2.2 Defining Politeness

Politeness can be explained in a number of ways (see Janney and Arndt, 1992). As we have seen, Lakoff (1973) first approached the subject from a logic-based viewpoint and later from a conflict-avoidance perspective, where she specifies that 'politeness can be defined as a means of minimizing the risk of confrontation in discourse — both the possibility of confrontation occurring at all, and the possibility that a confrontation will be perceived as

threatening' (Lakoff, 1989: 102). Holding a similar view, Leech (1983: 83) suggests an 'unfortunate association' between the superficially nice and ultimately insincere nature of this kind of discourse etiquette in which politeness is no more than a garnish on the serious use of language (cf. Grice, 1975). Hill et al. (1986: 349) also point to a similar definition: 'politeness is one of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others' feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport'. In much the same way, another definition of politeness was proposed by Sifianou (1992: 88) to signify 'the consideration of other people's feelings by conforming to social norms and expectations'. Watts (1992: 50) calls attention to politeness as socially-determined behaviour that establishes and maintains social equilibrium between individuals. An addressee-oriented approach to verbal interaction has been suggested by Holmes (1995: 4), who takes politeness to be an expression of concern for the feelings of others.

Politeness is, more often than not, regarded as an addressee-oriented phenomenon. Some scholars (Fraser and Nolen, 1981; Sifianou, 1992) have pondered over the question whether being polite always requires consideration for others' needs and feelings rather than for our own. My understanding is that this is up for debate and how one chooses to view the matter. The usual perspective sees communication as a two-way activity, where mutual support is a must. People may sometimes feel pressured into having to behave politely, in accordance with the expected norms of society, although they do not feel like it (Yule, 1996; cf. Fraser and Nolen, 1981: 96). To stop being polite to others and think more about ourselves and our own benefits is something that may be easy to say but, for fear of social sanction, rather hard to do. Impoliteness (or even rudeness) arises when behaviour operates in the opposite direction, that is, as a speaker-oriented phenomenon. Sifianou (1992: 82) rightly postulates that people need to be polite, because it repays them with a pleasant feeling of satisfaction; and this is a multiple reward, in that they receive consideration from others in return.

It is also important to bear in mind that politeness is sometimes equated with certain speech registers and/or discourse types. For example, formality (Atkinson, 1982; Leech, 1983; Levinson, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987), deference (Fraser and Nolen, 1981) and urbanity (Sifianou, 1992) can be used as a substitute in various cases. However, some clarification is needed in distinguishing these notions.

Speech style is often described in terms of a formality-informality scale, on which politeness is placed towards a person being maximally formal (Atkinson, 1982). Certain interactions necessitate a speaker being formal, but not necessarily polite. For example, the language of courtroom discourse is formal, but not always polite, such as when a prospective prisoner is called forward to hear the charges and his verdict (Lakoff, 1989). This is only one aspect of politeness and formality, and what should be taken into account is that, on the other

hand, people can be polite while in a totally informal interaction as well, as can be found during a friendly conversation among peers.

The notion of deference may be easily recognised, but it is difficult to tell it apart from politeness (cf. indirectness). While politeness has to do with showing consideration to others, deference includes this quality together with another that conveys a socially acceptable monitoring of social standing (not too much or too little). Deference is characterised as the giving of personal value and status to the hearer by specific social indexing (e.g. address forms) and other linguistic strategies (e.g. indirect requests) (Fraser and Nolen, 1981: 97). Thomas (1995: 150) speculates on how politeness and deference differ in non-verbal communication and says that 'we can show deference by standing up when a person of superior status enters a room, or show politeness by holding a door open to allow someone else to pass through'.

Similarly, considering that politeness infiltrates into all social circles, we can find good reasons for casting suspicion on the assumption that politeness is only connected with urbanity and a modern lifestyle. It is often reported that many educated and influential figures from modern and cosmopolitan society actually prefer the idyllic rural pace of life and tend to use such a setting as a retreat for relaxation, inspiration and so on. However, to state that rural life indicates uneducatedness, lack of refinement in behaviour and a preponderance of impolite language is a falsehood. Though different from city dwellers in a number of ways, some countryside residents have developed polite speech specifically for use within their communities (Sifianou, 1992: 81-82). References are often made to the primitive denotations of the words *polite* and *courteous* in Greek, French and Latin, in relation to appropriate social behaviours in Western societies (Sifianou, ibid.). Such etymological analysis is interesting; however, it no longer seems to conform well to current usage.

2.2.3 Politeness Theory

As seen in 2.2.1, Goffman discussed 'face' from a sociological point of view. Brown and Levinson (1987) furthered this line of thought and looked at the implications of 'face' from a linguistic viewpoint. In 'linguistic politeness theory', Brown and Levinson suggest that face is a 'public self-image' that every member of society wants to claim for him/herself and that everyone is endowed with two particular [face] wants: 'positive' face wants represent the desire to be liked, appreciated and approved of in certain respects, while 'negative' face wants represent the desire not to be imposed upon, the basic claim to personal freedom and autonomy, and rights to non-intrusion into individual privacy. Positive politeness strategies are, for example, the use of personal pronouns signifying in-group membership and

linguistic devices such as compliments, congratulations, invitations, and the like: those that make the addressee feel good. On the other hand, negative politeness strategies are, for example, avoiding telephoning someone late at night, apologising for interruption while someone else is speaking and allowing others to make their own decisions. The notion of 'negative' politeness, however oddly it reads (see below), precedes 'positive' politeness in order of importance and relates most intricately to what people generally think of 'politeness'.

Rational human beings often ensure that they are civil and polite to others. However, whenever and wherever this is inevitable, they will resort to some compromise so as to mitigate the force of a possibly unfavourable utterance. The use of indirectness is a good example. Face is a vulnerable construal and susceptible to threats. Once face is threatened, the balance of Goffman's defensive and protective strategies is obliterated, which may then result in communication breakdowns, disruption of conversation, embarrassment, offence and social sanctions (Scollon and Scollon, 1994, 1995). Brown and Levinson call linguistic strategies that run contrary to the maintenance of face as 'face-threatening acts' (or FTAs). To them, speech acts such as advising, contradicting, criticising, disagreeing, requesting, questioning are inherently face-threatening. There are five strategies for doing FTAs, as follows:

1. Carrying out FTAs on record, baldly and without redressive action

By saying that a person goes on record to do an act means that he/she chooses to be clear in his/her intention, and the participants in that conversation can be sure that the speaker is committed to what he/she has said without underlying connotations. An optimal efficiency of the propositional content is expected. If A says *I'm coming to the party tomorrow*, we can assume that he will more than probably be at the party and, pragmatically, he has gone on-record to commit himself to the truth condition of his utterance. Sometimes our thoughts must be expressed as clearly and concisely as possible, such as in events with great time constraints (e.g. when in a fast-moving stage of a computer game, during a heated argument) or when we have to pass on information during an emergency (e.g. fire, aircraft emergency landing).

2. Carrying out FTAs with redressive action (positive politeness-oriented)

Performing a redressive action is equivalent to giving a good face to the hearer, to counteract the possibility of a face loss and 'to indicate that no such face threat is intended or desired' (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 67-70). The speaker attends to the hearer's positive face and to his/her want to be liked and/or treated with interest. In the sentence *hey mate, I was keeping this seat for my girlfriend*, the speaker verbalises an FTA by means of the speech act of

forbidding, but his use of the in-group solidarity marker *mate* helps redress the weightiness of the FTA, despite the fact that the two speakers may not know each other well enough to legitimise the use of this particular address term. In addition, the speaker is observing a positive politeness strategy by not having to request bluntly with a statement like *don't sit here! It's taken.*

3. Carrying out FTAs with redressive action (negative politeness-oriented)

As we have discussed earlier, negative politeness suggests that the speaker take into account the hearer's want to be deferred to, not to be imposed upon and not to be treated unfairly. Softening devices (e.g. discourse markers such as *you know, I mean, sort of*), with their various functions, can indicate tentativeness and serve as a redressive action to an FTA (see also Holmes, 1995). Consider the phrase *I guess maybe you won't, you know, be able to make it for tonight.* The speaker softens the seriousness of the statement by means of a few discourse markers, which, if absent, would make this utterance sound blunt and more like a quite severe criticism or challenge: *you won't be able to make it for tonight.* Lack of assertiveness does not generally mean that the speaker is unsure about what has been said, but rather indicates respect and conflict-avoidance (see also Brislin and Yoshida, 1994). The realisations of speech acts of apologising and thanking (see chapters 6 and 7) are prime examples of the observance of negative politeness face wants.

4. Carrying out FTAs with off-record politeness

Performing off-record politeness involves being indirect (Sifianou, 1997a). Off-record acts can, for instance, be performed in the following ways: giving 'hints' to the hearer that the speaker needs some salt by saying *this soup is a bit bland, don't you think?*; using a metaphor (in Japanese culture) to inform a friend of her failure to pass an exam by saying *the cherry blossom has fallen* (Thomas, 1995: 174); and being vague and incomplete by leaving an FTA half undone and allowing the hearer to work out an implicature in a phrase like *well, if one leaves one's tea on the wobbly table...* (because one knows that the mug will eventually fall off!) (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 227).

5. Do not perform FTAs

Moving a step beyond indirectness, in the view expressed by Thomas (1995), this final category of FTAs is self-explanatory: something seems so obviously harmful to the hearer's face that the speaker finds it best to let it go at that. Brown and Levinson did not discuss this last strategy in any detail, perhaps believing that there was not much to say about expressing nothing. Further speculation will call to mind, though, that some more can be said about 'non-performance of FTA'. Tanaka (1993), following Bonikowska (1988), explains that

there is an additional principle of 'saying nothing' and introduced the 'opting-out choice' (OOC), which can be broken down into 'OOC genuine' and 'OOC strategic'. When a speech act is not performed because the cost of face loss is potentially too high, OOC genuine is called for – this could be interpreted as that the speaker has meant the matter to remain closed. On the other hand, if the speaker uses OOC-strategic, it implies that he/she does not in fact wish to let the matter drop, but expects the hearer to reach the perlocutionary effect of an utterance by him/herself (i.e. taking on some action).

In conjunction with these five strategies of redress, Brown and Levinson outlined a set of social variables that govern our assessment of the seriousness of threats to face wants. According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 74-77), an FTA is not inherent in the act itself, but largely determined by the 'cumulative effect' of the three contextually negotiated variables:

1. 'Social distance' variable (D) or the degree of solidarity and familiarity between discourse participants;
2. 'Relative power status' variable (P) or the extent to which the speaker considers legitimate in imposing his/her will (viewpoints, treatment) on the hearer; and
3. 'Absolute ranking of impositions' variable (R). It involves the scope of rights the speaker can assert in performing a speech act and the allowance the hearer makes for the effect of that speech act to be exercised on him/her.

Many linguists and communication scholars have taken Brown and Levinson's conception of facework politeness as a model in their studies. However, appraisals often come with criticisms. In sum, the main preoccupation of politeness theory has been to distinguish two kinds of face wants, to explore what prevents people from being polite and to formulate a hypothesis that (hopefully) would enjoy universal applicability. Many empirical studies have proposed that Brown and Levinson have yet to address more diverse aspects of discourse behaviour in order that their arguments could be accepted on firmer theoretical ground, in particular, in terms of their alleged universal validity.

The primary setback relates to the anomaly of the positive/negative politeness taxonomy (Baxter, 1984; Coupland et al., 1988). In order to appreciate the theory, it should be acknowledged that one is not to adhere too much to the denotative meanings of the terms 'face-threatening acts' or 'positive' and 'negative' politeness (especially the unpleasant connotations of *threatening* and *negative*). Such confusion of 'form and content' has invited many scholars to invent other alternatives. For instance, Scollon and Scollon (1995: 37-38) note that they prefer not to use Brown and Levinson's terms 'because technical or formal contrast between "positive" and "negative" can easily be forgotten and readers can too easily begin to think of "positive politeness" as good and "negative politeness" as bad'. Believing that interactants need to 'be involved' and 'share' common ground, while at the same time they want to safeguard some autonomy, Scollon and Scollon (1983, 1995) suggest that positive politeness should be replaced by 'solidarity politeness' (-D and -P) and negative

politeness by 'deference politeness' (+D and +P). Another interesting option was proposed by Tannen (1984) who, wishing to avoid value judgements of the words *positive* and *negative*, introduced her dichotomy of 'community' and 'independence' politeness. Richards (1982: 66) also makes a contribution, of 'affirmative' and 'deferential' politeness strategies. Sifianou (1992) posits that scholars should not strive for new terms at the expense of already well-established concepts, because this can lead to even more confusion.

Another problem in Brown and Levinson's theory that must be underlined is the notion of FTAs together with their associated linguistic forms. There is no doubt that contradictions and criticisms result in a loss of face on the part of the hearer and are clearly face-threatening. The reasoning offered by Brown and Levinson is weakened, however, when it comes to compliments and congratulations, whose elements of offence are far from being harmful (see more discussion in 5.3.1.2). According to politeness theory, it seems as if *all* speech acts are face-threatening. For the purpose of illustration, consider complimenting behaviour. Brown and Levinson did discuss compliments, but concentrated almost exclusively on their face-threatening aspects, which are, as some have argued (for instance, Chen, 1993), *not* perennial characteristics of this speech act. As these theorists see it, supposing that speakers A and B are females; when A compliments B's new dress, A indicates a desire to possess it and, as a result, interferes with B's freedom of action and incurs a threat to B's negative face. At the same time, B will feel obliged to accept the praise, make a comment that devalues the dress, and finally find something to say in order to return the compliment. It would be more reasonable, though, to describe the act of complimenting as a 'face-supportive act', not an FTA (see Holmes, 1995); the fact that A uttered a positive remark about B and B returned the compliment rather suggests that both speakers are 'positively' polite. To imply that complimenting is, above all, obnoxious behaviour, as Brown and Levinson did, is unjustified. Schmidt (1980: 104) voiced his disapproval in this connection, observing that the theory represents 'an overly pessimistic, rather paranoid view of human interaction'. My view is, if compliments always imply an ulterior motive and make both the speaker and hearer feel so uncomfortable, then the probability would be that, contrary to what happens in normal discourse, people would refrain from praising each other in their polite conversations.

A concise summary of the problems with politeness theory is given in Tracy (1990: 213). First, speech acts are a starting point for studying politeness in Brown and Levinson's tradition, but different acts have different functions – some with pleasant and others with unpleasant implications. To designate a face-threatening nature for all speech acts is tantamount to jumping to a rash conclusion. For a full understanding of politeness, we may also need to look beyond verbal communication and include non-verbal clues such as body language (see 2.3.3). Second, the ranking of the five politeness super-strategies may not

always hold, since more than one strategy may be used in the same discourse (for example, in *do you mind if I smoke, mate?* (said to a stranger), the question is based on negative politeness, while the address term on positive politeness). Third, the mechanism of social relationships can be so complicated that merely three socially motivated factors (D, P and R) are sometimes inadequate and/or too simple to calculate the weightiness of an FTA. People's behaviours and perceptions vary from context to context, as a result of the complexity of their identities, beliefs and orientations. Fourth, politeness theory is culturally biased (see also Wierzbicka, 1985, 1991a); that is to say, a speech act that is intrinsically face-threatening in one culture (say Anglo-American) may be regarded as benevolent in another culture (say Far Eastern).

Earlier on, we touched upon the issue of universal applicability in Brown and Levinson's theory. Such a claim has been subject to many running controversies. Relying only on English, Tamil and Tzeltal, the theorists were a little ambitious to assert that the characteristics of these languages would be applicable to all others. Discussions challenging politeness theory are found in many publications. I shall focus on certain areas of cultural inquiry, with special reference to Chinese, Japanese and Thai societies, which view politeness and facework quite differently from that discussed by Brown and Levinson.

In Chinese culture, the norm of politeness requires one to denigrate oneself, respect others, but not to satisfy one's desire for freedom (Gu, 1990). Unlike Anglo-American face, which Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) have portrayed as a 'public *self*-image', Chinese face is not a private but shared, communal property – a truly 'public image' (see Fijneman et al., 1996; Schwartz, 1990). Brown and Levinson's approach to face is only valid from a Western perspective, which 'derives directly' from the importance given to individualism rather than collectivism, a concept most common to the Chinese (Chen, 1993: 69; see also Kasper, 1990). As Mao (1994: 460) puts it, in Chinese culture, 'one wins a recognition not so much of one's claim to freedom of action as of one's claim to the respect or prestige of the community'. Complimenting, offering, inviting and promising in Chinese are not thought of as threatening the hearer's negative face (Zhu, 1998). An illustration of a sequence of the act of offering at a Chinese dinner table will clarify this point. Perhaps as in most cultures, it is the norm for a Chinese guest to be verbally appreciative of the food offered, no matter what he/she truly believes it tastes like. A point of divergence starts when, at some point, the Chinese guest ought to say something that will hint that they have eaten enough, even if in fact they have not (to counteract being called greedy). It is considered polite for the host to persist by suggesting that the guest have another helping (to appear as a generous host) and for the guest to keep refusing. From a Western perspective, if the act of persisting is repeated several times, its face-threatening aspects will be on the increase, unlike the same situation

viewed from a Chinese perspective, where the guest will not consider that their freedom of action is being interfered with (Chen, 1993; Chen, 1990/1991).

Another point of resemblance in the light of the perceived intrusion of freewill is demonstrated in Japanese culture. Matsumoto (1988: 405) challenges Brown and Levinson's conceptualisations and states that 'what is most alien to Japanese culture in the notion of face, as attributed to the model person, is the concept of negative face wants as the desire to be unimpeded in one's action'. Considering a prevalent Western philosophy, which has it that 'the basic unit of society is the individual' prompts us to acknowledge that everyone likes to be indulged in their own territory and has their own business to attend to. With this assumption in mind, Matsumoto suggests that it is almost impossible to understand how a Japanese mind works. The basis of human relations in Japanese society is not to be found in one's concern for territorial integrity, but in one's position as well as interdependence in relation to others, who may or may not acknowledge him/her as a group member (see also Doi, 1986).

In the same direction, Ide (1989) points out that the Japanese cultural heritage is one that is structured with hierarchical orders where everyone must know their specific standing and play their role as the convention requires of them. This is what she calls 'discernment' (from the translation of the term *wakimae*) or the key intuition of Japanese politeness ethos, where social distinctions between the speaker, addressee and referent are 'systematically' prescribed by the choice of hierarchically-based vocabulary (see similar discussions on Chinese culture in Mao, 1994: 468, and on Korean culture in Morisaki and Gudykunst, 1994). A Japanese person is conscious of his/her role in relation to the hearer and would make use of appropriate honorific words and sentence structures to meet this recognition. Syntactically, to say *today is Saturday* in English does not give much information about how the two speakers relate to one another, but to say the same utterance in Japanese involves more complexities and would tell something about the participants (Matsumoto, 1988: 415). Different conjugated forms of the copula verb *desu* is a case in point. The three possible forms (underlined) are: the 'plain' form (*kyoo wa doyoobi da*), the 'polite' form (*kyoo wa doyoobi desu*) and the 'super-polite' form (*kyoo wa doyoobi degozaimasu*). A student tends to use the polite or super-polite form with his/her lecturer (because the latter is in a higher position) and the plain form when addressing a classmate (because the latter is considered a social equal) (Matsumoto, 1988: 415). Japan is often categorised as a debt-sensitive and deference-giving culture, as could be seen in the emphasis that a Japanese person puts on expressing debt once someone has given him/her a due attention or favour. An offer of a cup of tea from a senior colleague may make a Japanese typist feel indebted for days (if not longer), for instance. After being introduced to a new acquaintance, a Japanese will automatically say *doozo yoroshiku* (*onegaishimasu* is suffixed to render this as a super-polite

register), which can be translated as 'I ask you to treat me well/take care of me' (Matsumoto, 1988: 409). According to politeness theory, this type of utterance will be considered a direct request or an imposition. Brown and Levinson (1987: 245-247) describe Japanese culture as being deference- and negative politeness-oriented. However, many scholars of Japanese language have argued that this only holds with regard to a Japanese person's concern about giving deference and that the notion of negative politeness cannot be applied as a cover term here. A conventionalised request like the one above is intrinsically polite, as it puts the speaker, as he/she wishes, in a lower position and the hearer above. The speaker would feel secure that he/she is in good hands and the hearer would feel honoured about being given respect and being someone to whom others look up. A sense of interdependence is generated in this way; the desire for both parties to be left free of imposition is void in this culture-specific context.

At some considerable geographical distance from China and Japan, Thailand is a society whose norms of politeness are similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese cultures. Literature treating politeness in Thai in the light of Brown and Levinson's theory is still in its infancy. Nevertheless, several works on Thai language and society (Bandhumedha, 1998; Klausner, 1993; Segaller, 1995, 1997; Goldstein, 1999, for example) form an outline that bears interesting witness to the speculation that the Thai politeness system has a close association with Chinese and Japanese rules of modesty, hierarchical order and deference (Goldstein, 1999). Thai society is a closely-knit one (Komin, 1991); it is structured in a ranking system, where the importance of giving deference to the more powerful and the more senior in the community always comes first (see 2.3.1.2). Although Brown and Levinson did not discuss Thai, the existing literature has led me to hypothesise that Thai culture can be explained within their theory, as being based on the positive politeness conception (that is, more importance is attached to the search for in-group solidarity). Thai culture does not value the features central to the negative politeness orientation; the desires for individual autonomy and freedom of action give rise to objectionable connotations (Komin, 1991; Segaller, 1995, 1997), as opposed to those in most Western cultures where such desires are encouraged. The practice of sharing things and the interdependency between Thai speakers are conspicuous, and this is reflected in their use of certain linguistic devices such as address forms and personal pronouns (see 2.3.1.2). Having said that, what differentiates Thai from Chinese and Japanese cultures is stated in a noteworthy hypothesis by Kummer (1992: 325, 327) that Chinese and Japanese discourse behaviours such as 'putting oneself down' and an 'overtly submissive display of politeness' are to be thought of as an exaggerated performance of modesty from a Thai standpoint. Thai people are likely to view the matter as Anglo-Americans would do (that the Chinese and the Japanese are unnecessarily self-depreciating).

Brown and Levinson's theory is undoubtedly the best known in the field of linguistic politeness. Despite being considered a classic by virtue of its lengthy treatment of the subject, Brown and Levinson's model has been described by various scholars as containing a too rigid and somewhat pessimistic view of normal interaction. Surely, however, without Brown and Levinson, the quest for additional research both against and in favour of their theory might not have progressed this far, and we would probably know less about politeness behaviour than we do now.

2.3 Other Social and Conversational Issues of Politeness

This section reviews the manifestations of politeness from a more social standpoint. It begins with the description of role relationships, in conjunction with the study of personal pronoun systems, address forms and kin terms in different languages, though a considerable emphasis is on Thai society. It further demonstrates how Thai language users add a variety of words (often monosyllabic) to the end of their utterances in order to convey their attitudes (e.g. agreement, anger, assertiveness, hesitation), relative to the situation and the relationship between participants. The discussion then moves on to explore the absence of speech (which breaks down into silence and non-verbal communication) as a means of negotiating politeness, before considering the notion of culture and how different politeness values in different societies are interpreted and how intergroup misunderstandings ensue.

2.3.1 Selection of Reference Terms and Address Forms[5]

It is well-known that there are several variables (e.g. age, gender, social class) that provide clues to the kinds of identities and relationships people enter into with each other, and there is no area of sociolinguistics in which this is as clearly operative as in the investigation of 'terms of reference' and 'address forms' (see Fasold, 1990: 1; Trudgill, 1983, among others). During the course of conversation, people are normally aware of their position in the social circle and, as a consequence, adopt 'terms of reference' and 'address forms' to suit the context of speaking. These linguistic forms guide us in signifying as well as maintaining solidarity, power and so on; they also represent a mechanism whereby linguistic politeness is known to operate (Holmes, 1995). 'Terms of personal reference' are used in general speech and writing; English pronominal variants include *I* (first person), *you* (second person) and

[5] Researchers have sometimes presented these with interchangeable terminologies, which could give rise to confusion. For instance, in Brown and Ford (1961) and Brown and Gilman (1968), terms such as 'pronouns of address' and 'forms of address' (Dickey, 1997: 255) were used to mean 'reference pronouns'. In my work, I treat these two notions separately, with the former under 'reference terms' ('terms of personal reference' or simply 'personal pronouns') and the latter under 'address forms'.

he/she (third person). 'Address forms' are consistent with words (or a mixture of words) employed in summons and greetings (see Chaika, 1989: 60-62), ranging from *honey, sweetheart, John* to *Mr Smith, officer, the Honourable Gentleman.* In *what would* you *like to drink,* sir*?*, it is obvious that the two un-italicised words perform different roles, with the first being a reference term and the second an address form. Some of these pronouns belong to both categories, whereas others are bound to only one. To illustrate, *you* is a reference term, which can also be employed as a summons (especially to disparage the hearer). As with words that are restricted to one category, we can see that *I* only functions as a term of reference, in much the same way as *her mum, Ben's fiancée, the shopkeeper* – third-person references that 'rarely or never occur in address' (Dickey, 1997: 260). Simply looking at their forms does not enable one to assign these words to plausible categories, since consideration must also be paid to the details of the speech event.

2.3.1.1 Studies in European Languages

Studies on choices of pronouns and address forms were initiated by American researchers, notably Roger Brown, Albert Gilman and Marguerite Ford in the 1960s. They explored the use of these linguistic features in European languages from the past until the present. Brown and Gilman (1968) found a communicative pattern involving two social dimensions ('power' and 'solidarity'), which conditions our social life and the selection of second-person pronouns. Most European languages distinguish between two types of second-person pronoun: the familiar one (T) and the distant one (V) (after French *tu* and *vous*). T/V distinctions are also found in Latin (*tu* and *vos*), German (*du* and *Sie*), Swedish (*du* and *ni*), Finnish (*sinä* and *te*), Greek (*esi* and *esis*) and Spanish (*tu* and *Usted*).[6] English could be the only language that currently opts for a single variant of *you* (note that those who argue for the existence of *thou/you* will soon realise that this usage has become obsolete, except in literature, the performing arts and some regional dialects) (see Dickey, 1997).[7] The situation in other related languages such as Italian, Portuguese and Romanian is more complicated; not only are there one T and one V, but three variants altogether (Braun, 1988: 12-15).

A brief glance at history will trace the development of second-pronoun reference. Around the 4th century BC, the Roman empire saw the emergence of a social differentiation between the two pronouns (*tu* and *vos*) in Latin. It is thought that there were then two Roman emperors who were referred to by the plural *vos* pronoun; hence the V form became

[6] Second-person pronouns illustrated below show the social position of interactants only. The usage is more complex if viewed from the singular/plural angle (see Braun, 1988; Haugen, 1975). For the sake of economy, pronouns in the plural forms are not discussed.

[7] Swedish is probably the next language that will lack its version of T/V distinction eventually, with *ni* falling out of use and being increasingly substituted by *du* in recent decades (Paulston, 1976; but see Andersson, 1998).

associated with increased distance and power. By the Middle Ages, among status unequals, superiors received V and inferiors received T, whereas among status equals, the upper classes used mutual V and the lower classes used mutual T. This pattern of usage persisted until around the 19th century, which tells us that up to that period, rigid class systems typified the social structure, where superiors and those beneath them were kept clearly apart socially and linguistically. Brown and Gilman (1968) say that this pronominal classification was governed by a 'power semantic', to be contrasted with a 'solidarity semantic', which was later adopted as a result of a shift away to a less overtly hierarchical community. Although the T/V distinction still existed, the importance of the power factor was superseded by the importance of feelings of mutual solidarity that arose from shared social factors such as age, profession or gender. People with common interests, of the same gender, of the same age or the same level of education felt more at ease to exchange the T forms. The V forms became used to convey politeness and distance, more than to symbolise status asymmetries (Brown and Gilman, 1968: 257-258). Terms such as *mister* or *madam* no longer represented individuals as social superiors (as in a 'master and servant' relationship), but had been neutralised to refer to merely any adults with whom one was not acquainted. As a result of several revolutions, political reforms and liberation movements, modern Europe has witnessed the use of mutual T forms becoming more widespread among the upper class as well as other classes and has come to favour a more egalitarian society (see Ervin-Tripp, 1972).

According to Brown and Ford (1961), English-speaking communities generally recognise two main options in their address system, that is first name (FN) and title with last name (TLN). FN can be seen as representing the T pronoun, while TLN represents the V pronoun. Address forms in English (as well as major European languages) appear to be more in number, when compared with reference pronouns: for example (besides FN and TLN), title only, last name (LN), title plus full name (TF), full name without title (FWT), nickname (NN) or even multiple names (MN). Imagine the many possible ways a senior military officer *Thomas Harvey* can be addressed: *Thomas* (FN), *Commander Harvey* (TLN), *Sir* or *Commander* (title only), *Harvey* (LN), *Commander Thomas Harvey* (TF), *Thomas Harvey* (FWT), *Tom* or *Tommy* (NN) or *Tom Harvey*, in the case of an MN combination (see Braun, 1988). Symmetric use of FN shows familiarity and equality (e.g. between friends), whereas symmetric use of TLN shows distance (e.g. between those who have just become acquainted). Where asymmetric use of address forms are concerned, it is usually the case that the person in a higher position would be the first to switch from TLN to FN (Wardhaugh, 1998: 264). Sometimes, distant address forms used in lieu of intimate ones serve other communicative purposes. Family members suddenly stopping the use of reciprocal FN and switching to TLN (or other unfamiliar forms) are usually expressing

nothing less than displeasure, annoyance or anger (e.g. the wife addressing *Commander Harvey*, not the usual *Tom*). Intimate address forms are devoid of any intention of politeness when used in an inappropriate context in which the addressee refuses to recognise that it is their due to do so (e.g. being addressed as *Tommy* by a newly recruited junior administrator). Just as symmetrical T forms (as terms of reference) have become more prevalent among speakers of languages that have this distinction, the use of mutual FN (as address form) is becoming increasingly frequent in the English-speaking world.

2.3.1.2 Terms of Reference and Address Behaviour in Thai

I now attend to the usage of personal pronouns and address forms in Thai. Sociolinguistic phenomena in this area in Thai have been studied by a number of academics (Palakornkul, 1975; Gething, 1986; Truwichien, 1986; Tiancharoen, 1987; Khanittanan, 1989; Bandhumedha, 1998). However, these pursuits cannot be described as as fully developed as similar studies in English (and European languages), because they are available only in unpublished theses and rare articles.

The Thai language makes use of not only complex variants of pronominal and address forms, but also honorifics (see similar discussions on Japanese in Ide, 1989; Javanese in Geertz, 1973 and Witterman, 1967; Burmese and Vietnamese in Cooke, 1968). These studies suggest that the systems of such linguistic features in Thai and other Oriental languages are highly intricate – a fact that makes usages in European languages appear to be rather simplistic, by comparison.

Thailand is a speech community, one of whose values is based on social hierarchy and seniority between interactants, in contrast to European countries (e.g. Britain) where the tendency is now to stress the equal status of individuals, as we have seen in 2.3.1.1. It seems as if, in Thai society, everyone is either superior or inferior to another (Cooper and Cooper, 1996). Palakornkul (1975: 15) states that 'participants are characterized by the social role(s) each occupies which is essentially determined by underlying social and cultural factors indicative of Thai society and its social structure'.

In Thai pronominal usage, a useful distinction can be made between two types of terms of reference: 'personal pronouns proper' and 'pronominally used nouns' (Palakornkul, 1975). The first type includes pronouns indicating three categories (or persons) of participants (just like in English), and the second includes words (used as pronouns) that show the social relationship between speakers. With regard to personal pronouns proper, Palakornkul (1975: 37) compiled three lists for the commonly used three-person references. However, there are innumerable ways of converting words into the second category of

pronouns (pronominally used nouns); for this reason, it is admittedly impossible to list them in any helpful manner.

As just mentioned, personal pronouns proper in Thai are equivalent to English *I*, *you*, and *he/she* and *it*. I provide a breakdown of first-person pronouns in table 2.1, together with the range of factors governing their specific meaning attributions (adapted from Palakornkul, 1975 and Bandhumedha, 1998). To explicate, for example, variant 1 is employed exclusively by Buddhist priests when in conversation with non-priests, variant 2 is a neutral form that is usually adopted by people familiar with English, variant 14 is used only by male speakers to any types of interactant in formal speech events, variant 15 is most common among commoners with similarities in status and age group, and variant 17 is typical among immigrants of a Southern Chinese ethnic group. Table 2.2 shows a list of 19 second-person pronouns in Thai, some of which have rapidly passed out of use or are germane to certain discourse types only. Table 2.3 shows that, broadly speaking, the Thai language makes use of eight personal pronouns proper for third-party reference.

As illustrated in tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3, the choice of personal pronouns in Thai is complicated to the extent that there is hardly a chance of 'socially unmarked' sentences to be formed (Noss, 1964: 99-102). There are no rules without exception. These inventories cannot be taken as exhaustive on the basis of factors such as lineage, power and gender (e.g. it does not mean that a female person must stick to just one first-person variant, as her involvement in a specific speech event with some interactants may prompt her to resort to other options). Although prescriptivists may insist that some pronouns with similar functions must not be used interchangeably, people tend not to observe the established norms in spontaneous speech. Most average educated Thai speakers are aware of how to verbalise these features correctly amongst themselves; nevertheless, being commoners, many cannot state unreservedly how to address (or to refer to) royal personages, inasmuch as they feel unsure of how interactants of this highest lineage talk in their own group. A fair degree of flexibility has been reported to exist, in particular when royals interact with their commoner friends in informal settings (Swangviboonpong, personal communication). Another exception could be said, for instance, to be the use of a very formal pronoun (such as variant 15 in table 2.2) to an intimate not to show politeness, but dissatisfaction and sarcasm (Palakornkul, 1975: 32-34). Some pronouns are appropriate to a certain relationship only, and to employ them outside an appropriate speech situation would lead to misunderstanding, offence or even imprisonment (see below).

Some pronouns in Thai can refer to more than one type of speaker. In English, *we* can be a first-person plural pronoun, but usually only a royal person (e.g. Queen Elizabeth II) is permitted to use it to mean 'I'. The Thai pronoun *kháw*, as a first-person reference (variant 8), is specific to female peers, but can also be used to denote the third party (variant 3).

Table 2.1 First-Person Pronouns in Thai

First-person pronouns	Speaker's identities					Hearer's identities					Speaker's relationships to hearer									Notes on usage
	Lineage			Gender		Lineage			Gender		Solidarity			Power			Age			
	King	Priest	Commoner	Male	Female	King	Priest	Commoner	Male	Female	Intimate	Friend	Stranger	Inferior	Equal	Superior	Junior	Peer	Senior	
1. *ʔàadtamaa/ ʔàadtamaaphâab*	N	Y	N	Y	N		N													All circumstances
2. *ʔaj*		N	Y			N	N	Y												English *I*; obsolete
3. *chăn (chán)*		N	Y			N		Y												Rather informal
4. *dichăn (dichan)*		N	Y	N	Y	N														Formal
5. *kan*		N	Y	Y		N	N	Y	Y			✓			✓			✓		Informal
6. *khâa*		N	Y	Y		N	N	Y							✓					Informal
7. *khâaphacâw*	Y	N	Y																	Very formal
8. *khăw (kháw)*		N	Y			N	N	Y				✓			✓			✓		Informal
9. *kramɔ̀m/klâwkramɔ̀m*		N	Y			Y	N	N						✓						Very formal
10. *kraphŏm*		N	Y	Y	N	N														Very formal
11. *kuu*			Y			N	N	Y				✓								Vulgar
12. *nîi*			Y			N		Y												Non-specific
13. *nŭu*		N	Y	N	Y	N								✓			✓			Submissive
14. *phŏm*			Y	Y	N	N														Formal
15. *raw*		N	Y			N	N	Y				✓			✓			✓		Rather informal
16. *tua^{ʔ}eeŋ*		N	Y			N		Y												Rather informal
17. *ʔúa*		N	Y			N		Y												Teochew *I*

Key to interpretations
Y = typical to that identity
N = strictly atypical to that identity
✓ = designated relationship of speaker towards hearer
No symbol = irrelevancy of that identity or relationship on pronoun selection

Table 2.2 Second-Person Pronouns in Thai

Second-person pronouns	Speaker's identities					Hearer's identities					Speaker's relationships to hearer									Notes on usage
	Lineage			Gender		Lineage			Gender		Solidarity			Power			Age			
	King	Priest	Commoner	Male	Female	King	Priest	Commoner	Male	Female	Intimate	Friend	Stranger	Inferior	Equal	Superior	Junior	Peer	Senior	
1. *câw*			Y				N	Y								✓			✓	Literary
2. *ʔeŋ*			Y			N	N	Y												Rather foul
3. *kɛɛ*			Y			N	N	Y												Rather foul
4. *khun*						N	N													Formal
5. *lɔ̀n*	N	N	Y		Y	N	N	Y				✓			✓			✓		Informal
6. *lýy*			Y			N	N	Y												Teochew *you*
7. *myŋ*			Y			N	N	Y												Foul
8. *naaj*		N	Y			N	N	Y	Y			✓			✓			✓		Informal
9. *nîi*			Y			N	N	Y												Non-specific
10. *nǔu*			Y		Y	N	N	Y							✓				✓	Rather informal
11. *phráʔoŋ*	N		Y			Y	N	N						✓						Very formal
12. *raw*			Y			N	N	Y				✓			✓			✓		Informal
13. *tâajtháw*	N		Y			Y	N	N						✓						Very formal; obsolete
14. *tâjfàalaʔɔŋthúliiphrábàad*	N		Y			Y	N	N						✓						Formal
15. *thân*			Y											✓						Formal
16. *thəə*			Y			N	N	Y				✓			✓			✓		Informal
17. *tua*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y		Y		✓			✓			✓		Informal
18. *tuaʔeeŋ*		N	Y			N	N	Y		Y		✓			✓			✓		Informal
19. *juu*		N	Y			N	N	Y				✓			✓			✓		English *you*; obsolete

Table 2.3 Third-Person Pronouns in Thai

Third-person pronouns	Speaker's identities					Referent's identities					Speaker's relationships to referent									Notes on usage
	Lineage			Gender		Lineage			Gender		Solidarity			Power			Age			
	King	Priest	Commoner	Male	Female	King	Priest	Commoner	Male	Female	Intimate	Friend	Stranger	Inferior	Equal	Superior	Junior	Peer	Senior	
1. *ʔii*			Y			N		Y												Teochew *he/she*
2. *kɛɛ*			Y			N		Y												Informal
3. *khăw* (*kháw*)						N	N	Y												Non-specific
4. *lɔ̀n*			Y			N	N	Y		Y										Rather informal
5. *man*			Y			N	N	Y												Referent-depreciating
6. *phrâʔoŋ*			Y			Y	N	N						✓						Referent-elevating
7. *thân*			Y											✓						Referent-elevating
8. *thəə*			Y			N	N	Y												Informal

The pronoun *raw* can indicate as many individuals as the first-person singular (variant 15), first-person plural (English *we*) and second-person singular (variant 12). The third-person pronoun *man* (variant 5; literally meaning 'it') is consistent with inanimate or animal referents; however, it can also denote familiar equals or junior persons.

It is a truism that dyadic conversations require the adoption of pronominal reference to two speakers. In Thai, the pair *kuu* and *myŋ* is not only perceived as uncouth, it is also discouraged by language purists in public speaking (e.g. at school and in academic/official institutions). In real-life discourse, however, *kuu* is a very widespread first-person pronoun that goes hand-in-hand with the second-person pronoun *myŋ*, especially in close male friendships (Palakornkul, 1975). Very close female peers are likely to prefer the pairs *căŋ* vs. *kɛɛ* or *kháw* vs. *tua$^{?}$eeŋ* over other combinations, though this usage very rarely extends into conversations between males.

The second category of Thai terms of reference, pronominally used nouns (or pronominal nouns), are dissimilar to pronouns proper, in that they cannot be conveniently translated into English to mean 'I', 'you' and 'he/she', without losing their social implications. However, both are very much alike in terms of functions and positions in discourse. Kinship terms (e.g. *luŋ* ('uncle')), status terms (e.g. *$^{?}$aacaan* ('lecturer')) and personal names (e.g. *Daeng*) are representative components of this type of personal terms, which Truwichien (1986) has reported as occurring much more often than pronouns proper. It must be stressed that, in numerous circumstances, a single form of pronominal noun assumes the role of all persons in reference usage and of an address form. By way of illustration, examples 7 to 10 (fabricated) point to the possibility that the kinship term *luŋ* ('uncle') can operate as first-, second- and third-person pronouns, and then as an address form.

Example 7
A: luŋ wâa ca paj dəənlên nɔ̀j/
uncle THINK FTR GO STROLL a little/
A: 'I [as your uncle] feel like going for a walk'.

Example 8
A: luŋ màj hĭwkhâaw rə̌ə/
uncle not hungry SFP^{22}/
A: 'Don't you [as my uncle] feel hungry'?

Example 9
A: luŋ bɔɔg hâj paj lên khâaŋnɔɔg dâj/
uncle TELL GIVE GO PLAY outside able/
A: 'He [as my uncle] said I could play outside'.

Example 10
A: ca paj nă̌j luŋ/

FTR GO where uncle/
A: 'Where are you off to, uncle'?

Especially in examples 7, 8 and 9, it would sound very redundant if someone speaking English used the word *uncle* so repetitively. The adoption of *I*, *you* and *he* may make these utterances closer to the native standard of English usage, but explication is needed to identify how the participating interactants are related. The pronominally used noun *luŋ* is replete with definite interpersonal connotations, no matter if it occurs in isolation. When *luŋ* is replaced by a term indicating status or occupation (such as *ʔaacaan*), examples 7, 8, 9 and 10 would still incorporate very comparable implications in terms of the speakers' role relationships. Also, *luŋ* can be substituted by an FN (such as *Daeng*) in these four situations to indicate that *Daeng* is rather socially close and equal in status to the individual(s) involved.

In 2.3.1, I have proposed some broad functional differentiations as regards terms of reference and address forms in English, which are also applicable to Thai. As we have just seen, it has now become more complicated, because the Thai counterparts of these power- and solidarity-laden speech features can be much more easily assimilated into all categories of personal reference and address. My discussions hereafter will expand on the sociolinguistic features relating to the systems of kinship and friendship, age, gender, different types of social status, address forms and pronoun deletion.

Kin terms indicate solidarity and show that both speakers have a certain connection either through blood or through social contact. For genetic relatives, Bandhumedha (1998: 109) suggests that pronominal nouns are explicated according to generations. From this standpoint, age (rather than gender) is the factor on which Thai people put more emphasis (Segaller, 1997: 172). Within one's own generation (G+0), *brothers* and *sisters* in Thai are, unlike in English, specified on the basis of seniority. For reference (self- and other-) as well as address, several options are available for siblings, who habitually use the word *phîi* (meaning 'older sibling') or *nɔ́ɔŋ* (meaning 'younger sibling'). They can also prefix their designated NNs[8] with either *phîi* or *nɔ́ɔŋ* (as in *phîi Jim* or *nɔ́ɔŋ Jim*) or employ NNs on their own. They may as well resort to contextually appropriate pronouns in table 2.1. In interactions involving people one generation above (G+1), parents are referred to and addressed as *phɔ̂ɔ* ('father') or *mêɛ* ('mother'), and offspring generally receive NNs in reference and in address. For self-reference, parents use *phɔ̂ɔ* or *mêɛ*, while children mostly

[8] Along with FNs, most Thai people have NNs, which are given to them after birth and remain with them all through their lives (Tonkin, 1990: 47). NNs are normally called for in informal conversations. I have observed that the following tripartite distinction is quite common in Thai nicknaming practices: (1) any Thai or foreign words (*Jib*, *Tum*, *Jane*, *Tom*, *Dome*), (2) shortened versions of FNs (e.g. *Chart* for *Suchart*, *Kan* for *Kannikaa*) and (3) words that define the personal or physical traits of the newborns (*Lek* 'tiny', *Waan* 'sweet', *Yai* 'big', *Uan* 'plump') (see also de Clerk and Bosch, 1999).

use NNs. In referring to and addressing members of the extended family (G+1), kinship terms plus the NNs of the individuals concerned are called for, for example, *náa Lek* ('auntie Lek'), *ʔaa Chaa* ('uncle Chaa'). Unlike English where only the terms *uncle* and *aunt* exist, in Thai, *náa* is the younger sibling of one's mother and *ʔaa* is the younger sibling of one's father, irrespective of gender. Gender is taken into account where lineage pertaining to a certain parent is disregarded; *luŋ* is an elder male sibling of the parent and *pâa* is an elder female sibling. In the grandparents' generation (G+2), the same conventions of pronominal and address usage as those relating to the parents' generation are applicable. In Thai, a distinction is made for paternal and maternal grandparents; therefore, the pairs *pùu* vs. *taa* ('father's father' and 'mother's father') and *jâa* vs. *jaaj* ('father's mother' and 'father's mother').

In Thai society, kin terms can also be adopted for addressing non-blood relatives, in which case they would be called 'pseudo kin terms' (Palakornkul, 1975) or 'fictives' (Loveday, 1986: 294; Ishikawa et al., 1981), 'to establish congenial personal relationship' (Palakornkul, 1975: 12) and to downplay overt social distance. These are crucial usages that characterise Thai culture as orientating more towards positive politeness. As regards fictives, the 'age' variable (seniority) plays an important role in social transactions. For example, it is customary for a classmate visiting his friend's house to treat the friend's family members as if they were his own, and to adopt the same pronouns and address forms as his friend uses. It is considered polite for a client to call a young waiter or waitress by using the kin term *nɔ́ɔŋ* (in this case, meaning 'younger brother' or 'younger sister'). Politicians and celebrities of an older generation find it comfortable to refer to themselves as *phîi* (meaning 'older brother' or 'older sister') when being interviewed by a younger host during a television programme. A passenger normally calls a taxi driver *luŋ* ('uncle') or *phîi* ('older brother'); again, this is incumbent on the estimated age of the latter.

A concept of interpersonal relationship that differentiates English-speaking and Thai cultures quite clearly has to do with how the term *friend* is defined.[9] In English, *friend* merely denotes someone to whom one is not as close as an intimate or not as distant as a stranger. In Thai, seniority determines whether a person is a 'friend' (in the English sense), an '(age) peer' or someone to be regarded as 'junior' or 'senior'. Thai society may now be becoming more egalitarian (see Klausner, 1997) such that one may suspect that this distinction has fallen into disuse. However much this may hold true, the recognition of

[9] As regards Thai society, I use the term 'peers' for those whose age difference is minimal and treat each other as social equals on the basis of seniority. For some Thai people, only a few days' difference in birth (not to say months or years) can make an older friend socially superior to a younger friend.

seniority is still widely exercised when it comes to pronominal and address usage; for instance, it is barely workable for a junior friend to refer to or address his/her senior friend without using terms connoting seniority of some sort. In Thai society, those who are neither intimates nor strangers, through long-time acquaintance, can become so close that the bond of friendship transforms into a pseudo-family relationship. Friends with a great age difference assume the roles of siblings, uncles/nephews or aunts/nieces. An older friend takes charge in decision-making and ensures the welfare of a younger friend; by contrast, the latter, for (supposedly) lack of experience and wisdom, listens to the former's advice. Disobedience may ensue, but at the expense of the younger friend, who might be criticised as being rebellious or over-confident (Bandhumedha, 1998; Redmomd, 1998: 231). Appropriate respect (in the sense of 'hierarchy' rather than 'personal freedom') is to be accorded to older individuals (whether friends or relatives). This corresponds to the ways in which Chinese and Japanese cultures have been reported to operate (see 2.2.3).

Pronominal usage in Thai not only categorises people according to gender and age, but also is a criterion for distinguishing the social position between them. Thai culture divides people into three classes (that is, royals, sacerdotals and commoners). Speaking or referring to royal personages (and priests) demands special vocabularies, pronouns and address forms.[10] In Thai culture, the head is regarded as the most sacred part of a human body and feet the least sacred. In self-reference, the commoner uses the pronoun *kramòm*, which is accompanied by the routine formula *dûajklâwdûajkramòm*, meaning 'you, by the top of my head'. The speaker self-denigrates by implying that the top of his/her head is the only sensible metaphor to represent him/her in conversing with the Monarch. Generally speaking, the commoner addresses the King with *tâjfâala$^{?}$ɔɔŋthúliiphrábàad*, which means '[you, as addressed by me who is] underneath the dust of the soles of your royal feet' (Bandhumedha, 1998: 117). In the speaker's view, the hearer is so high that he/she can mention only the lowest part of the hearer's royal body. Priests are another class of personages to be revered by commoners, since they are the propagators of Buddhism, the main religion of the country. The Supreme Patriarch (i.e. the Thai monk of the highest status) is classified in the lowest rank of princes, and the vocabulary used in speaking to them is of a similar kind. The level of lexical elaboration decreases when speaking to royals or priests of lower ranks.

Between common people of various relationships, social status differentiation in Thailand also differs in a hierarchical way (notably, the rich vs. the poor, the educated vs. the

[10] A very morphologically elaborate register called the 'royal language' is required when referring and speaking to the King and members of his family. Any forms of negative criticisms against them in public proclamation makes the speaker liable to legal punishment (Cooper and Cooper, 1996). Talking to monks of different ranks also requires a special vocabulary, which is not as intricate as the royal language.

uneducated) (Klausner, 1997). Individuals with socially valued characteristics – mainly wealth, education and high level in occupation – naturally gain respect from those others (Komin, 1991). As a matter of politeness, terms indicating the hearer's high social status are expected to be used when a Thai person interacts with kin and non-kin alike. An affluent businessman, a senior government official, a university lecturer or a bank manager receive respectful titles and status terms when being referred to or addressed (Bandhumedha, 1998: 104). In a formal discourse, the titles *naaj*, *naaŋ* or *naaŋsăaw* are employed in a similar way to English *Mr*, *Mrs* or *Miss*; to indicate politeness and elevate the hearer, the title *khun* may come before a person's name. Moreover, for a greater display of deference, the title *thân* ('sir' or 'madam') would be utilised. A housemaid refers to and addresses her employer as *khunphûuchaaj* ('master') and his wife as *khunphûujĭŋ* ('mistress'). A junior officer calls a government minister *thân rátthamontrii* ('sir' plus 'minister'), his senior lecturer *aacaan Malee* ('lecturer' plus FN) and his bank manager *phûucàdkaan Pairot* ('manager' plus FN). For self-reference, high-status individuals have the freedom to use whichever pronoun form they think is appropriate, whereas the junior officer habitually uses one of the polite terms for *I* such as *phŏm* (for males) or *dichăn* (for females). A point to remember is that these usages are guidelines rather than rules, since varying circumstances make allowances for the adoption of other variants of titles, occupation and deferential terms.

We now move to concentrate on Thai address forms. A distinctive point of contrast between address forms, in the universal and Thai formats, lies in the absence of TLN in Thai (cf. Dickey, 1997), in which case TFN is used as an alternative (cf. Sifianou, 1992). In situations where formality is required, respect is reciprocally evinced by the formal titles *khun* or *thân* (if *khun* is not deferential enough), followed by FNs. For example, to address a Thai person whose full name is *Tanachai Sritrakul*, it would sound extremely odd to use the TLN variant, since this male person is rather known as *khun Tanachai* (TFN) or *khun Tanachai Sritrakul* (TF). It should be noted that a Thai LN never occurs on its own, but is always accompanied by an FN; and there is no such combination as *khun Sritrakul* or *naaj Sritakul* in Thai, whereas *Mr Sritrakul* is perfectly acceptable in English. Languages like Chinese, Korean and Japanese appear to follow the model of European pronominal reference (Fang, 1983; Yong-Lin, 1988). LN is not as important as FN in Thai social transactions. 'Surnames were introduced as a legal requirement only in the 1920s, when each family had to pick a [sur]name that was different from any other [sur]name in the Kingdom' (Cooper and Cooper, 1996: 100). It is also interesting to mention that, in casual to semi-formal conversations, Thai people are primarily introduced and know each other by their NNs, since FNs and other usages may sound too conventional. To ask a question like *what's your real*

name, by the way? is quite commonplace after some period of acquaintance or when officialdom takes control.

Thai is a PRO-drop language both for syntactical and social reasons (cf. Diller, 1993; Aroonmanakul, 1997). Situations where the use of personal pronouns is not called for are also referred to as 'pronoun deletion' (Palakornkul, 1975; Surintramont, 1979) or 'zero realisation' (Hatton, 1978). The syntax, therefore, makes deletion of the pronoun possible. Social considerations determine the choice between the two options. Two types of circumstance prompt the avoidance of pronoun usage: first, when it is obvious who is being referred to in the interaction, the mentioning of a pronoun is not necessary (e.g. the interrogative in example 11 could go without a subject, though any first-person variant may be placed at the beginning of the utterance), and, second, a personal pronoun is omitted for a social reason such as when the selection of an appropriate term cannot be made straightaway.

Example 11
A: khɔ̌ɔ duu khɔm nɔ̀j sí/
ASK LOOK computer a little SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'Can I see your computer'?

When determining factors such as status and seniority are in conflict, it is the status factor that will be given more weight and remain more socially valued (Bandhumedha, 1998: 105). An example is the case where the speaker and hearer are clearly of different status. A young educated nobleman would have great hesitation if he were obliged to use the conventional derogatory second-pronoun terms such as *kɛɛ* or *myŋ* with an elderly male cleaner in his office. If he wants to retain his high status and refuses to recognise the addressee by seniority, he will then avoid using pronouns for self- and other-reference altogether. Nevertheless, a sensible compromise is for the nobleman to call the cleaner by the pronominal nouns *taa* ('grandad') or *luŋ* ('uncle') and to refer to himself with the polite first-person variant *phǒm*. The adoption of a kin term not only rescues the speaker from appearing condescending, it also offers respect as well as cordiality to the person whose social status could otherwise be associated with depreciative terms. A further illustration involves a young woman being unsure about how to talk to a young man of about her age whom she has just met (Cooke, 1968). The first-person variant *dichǎn* is too deferential, *chǎn* is not deferential enough and her NN is a little too informal for this type of situation. With this frustration in mind, she may choose not to use a first-person form at all. However, if the conversation requires repeating self-reference, she may thus have to decide on something. A reverse phenomenon is that once a particular term for personal reference and address is adopted, it will not be dropped. With the change of formality and/or role relationships, Thai people would normally alter mutual reference terms and address forms to accommodate a

new situation. However, this sometimes causes problems. A female speaker has been accustomed to calling herself the subservient first-person form *nŭu* ('small rodent') when talking to her childhood teacher. Even though she becomes an adult with an even higher educational attainment than the teacher, she will still call herself *nŭu*. The speaker does not dare to use any other form for self-reference 'through apprehension that the listener might think the speaker to be no longer self-depreciating' (Khanittanan, 1989: 358).

2.3.2 Sentence Final Particles as Politeness Markers

In some languages, there is a class of contextually-bound words, whose functions can shed light on interpersonal relationships. Most often monosyllabic and found at the end of a sentence (or a clause within a sentence), these lexemes are known as 'sentence final particles' (SFPs) or 'pragmatic particles' (Suzuki, 1998) and have direct bearing on politeness behaviour in Thai (Tiancharoen, 1987) as well as in other languages, namely Japanese (Tsuchihashi, 1983) and Mandarin Chinese (Gupta, 1992).

Table 2.4 Sentence Final Particles in Thai

Forms	Degree of politeness			Modality	Negation	Interrogation
	Polite	Neutral	Impolite			
A. SFP[1]						
1. *khráb*	✓			✓		
2. *khà*	✓			✓		
B. SFP [2.1]						
3. *ná*		✓		✓		
4. *thə̀*		✓		✓		
5. *cà*		✓		✓		
6. *hà*		✓		✓		
7. *jà*		✓		✓		
8. *wà*		✓		✓		
9. *sá*		✓		✓		
10. *là*		✓		✓		
11. *lɛ̀*		✓		✓		
12. *sì*		✓		✓		
13. *ləəj*		✓		✓		
14. *wój*			✓	✓		
15. *máŋ*		✓		✓		
16. *nîi*		✓		✓		
17. *rɔ̀ɔg*		✓		✓	✓	
C. SFP[2.2]						
18. *máj*		✓		✓		✓
19. *rə̌ə*		✓		✓		✓
20. *rýypláw*		✓		✓		✓

Although operating in similar ways to discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser, 1990a; Wouk, 1998), they have syntactic and semantic functions in the expression of modality, negation and interrogation. More frequent in speech rather than in writing, SFPs also impart the information about the speaker's identity and his/her emotional state of mind towards the hearer, the speech event and the utterance he/she produces – whether statement, question, command or exclamation (Tiancharoen, 1987; see also Crystal, 1995; Kummer, 1992).

As illustrated in table 2.4, a distinction can be made between two main kinds of SFP in Thai conversations, on the basis of contextual and interpersonal factors. The A type involves the politeness-inducing SFPs *khráb* (used by males only) and *khà* (used by females only), which, when added to the end of an utterance, show respect to the hearer. When SFP^1 are used alongside address forms, they provide a good hint regarding the participants' identities (Kummer, 1992: 333). When a male person addresses a female person with *khun Daeng khráb* (morphemically dissected as honorific title, NN and SFP) (*'Mrs Daeng!'*), it could be said that the speaker is offering deference to the hearer (the use of SFP *khráb*) and that there is some social distance between them (the use of *khun*). Another distinction can be established with reference to the second type of SFPs (SFP^2), which express modalities on the part of the speaker (Gupta, 1992). They can be broken down into two sub-groups, according to the degree of certainty ($SFP^{2.1}$) and to the interrogative nature ($SFP^{2.2}$) of the propositions (see also Harkins, 1986; Wilkins, 1986). The first sub-group (B), in which the vast majority of Thai SFPs are found (see chapters 5, 6 and 7), points to the relative level of certainty (Haas, 1964). The second sub-group (C) consists of three SFPs, which take the role of question markers (i.e. signalling that the utterance is meant to be an interrogative).

In table 2.4, I illustrate the varying interpretations that each SFP from all three types can take on, and in the translation given in items 1 to 20 below, I consider these SFPs in conjunction with the verb *paj* ('GO').

1. *paj khráb*	'I will go (sir)' (polite; used by males)
2. *paj khà*	'I will go (sir)' (polite; used by females)
3. *paj ná*	'Please go' (persuasive)
4. *paj thə̀*	'Let's go' or 'come with me' (persuasive)
5. *paj cà*	'I will go' (certain; between intimates and very close friends)
6. *paj hà*	'I will go' (certain; more between females)
7. *paj jà*	'I will go' (certain; by females only)
8. *paj wà*	'I will go' (certain; between peers of any gender)
9. *paj sá*	'You'd better go' (showing authority or permission)
10. *paj là*	'I'm off now' (certain)
11. *paj lè*	'You will come with me' (showing gentle imposition)
12. *paj sì*	'I think you should go' (encouraging)

13. *paj lɔɔj*	'Feel free to go' (showing gentle permission or agreement to the hearer's decision)
14. *paj wój*	'I said I will go, did you hear me'? (annoyed or angry)
15. *paj máŋ*	'I might go' (showing probability and non-commitment)
16. *paj nîi*	'I'm sure I said I'd go' (assertive)
17. *mâj paj rɔ̀g*	'I will (definitely) not go' (assertive; most of the times accompanied by *mâj* ('not'), like *ne...pas* in French)
18. *paj máj*	'Want to come along'? (interrogative, persuasive)
19. *paj rǎə*	'Are you going'? (interrogative)
20. *paj rýyplàw*	'Will you go or not'? (interrogative, specifically seeking 'yes'or 'no' answer)

It should be remembered that the SFPs exemplified are relative to each given context; they are subject to change of meaning if accompanied by other verbs or used in other syntactic constructions. As far as I know, there is no study that suggests the exact number of Thai SFPs; to attempt an approximation is a daunting task, mainly due to the fact that a move from one tone to another (when possible) tends to change nuances in meaning (see below). This issue deserves to be explored further in additional research.

Complexities of interpretations arise when SFPs occur in a cluster of more than one candidate. While it is true that some combinations such as *ná cá*, *ná khá*, *rǎə khráb* still rely much of their implications on the first SFPs in the pairs, the same could not really be maintained for other mixtures such as *nà sì* and *sɪ ná*, which needed to be deciphered contextually. Noss (1964) says that the maximum length is four SFPs per clause, as in the request for information in example 12 (adapted from Noss, 1964: 201).

Example 12

A: khun mâj paj rɔ̀g rǎə khráb nîi/
you not GO $SFP^{2.1}$ $SFP^{2.2}$ SFP^{1} $SFP^{2.1}$/
A: 'You're not going after all, are you'?

It can be deduced from the co-existence of four SFPs that, syntactically, the speaker is asking a question in a negative construction; and, interpersonally, that the speaker (a male person) and the hearer are engaged in quite formal talk, with some social distance being observed between them.

Thai is a tonal language (see discussions in Jackson, 1976; Bickner, 1986).[11] The change of tones and/or of vowel lengths in some SFPs create other meanings in an interaction. With the first group, the female-specific SFP is a polite variant when uttered with low (*khà*) and falling tones (*khâ*). It can function as an attention-getter when used after an address form and pronounced with the high tone (*khá*); if formed with the rising tone and a little lengthy vowel (*khǎa*), it can additionally function as a response to a summons. There

[11] According to Haas (1964), there are five tones in Thai: middle tone (no symbol), low tone (ˋ), falling tone (ˆ), high tone (ˊ) and rising tone (ˇ).

is no allowance for such variation for the male-specific polite SFP *khráb*. With regard to the second type of SFPs, tone modification similarly affects the meaning of an utterance. For instance, the SFP *ná* (as in *paj ná* above) is pronounced with the high tone, but the speaker would come across as even more assertive when uttering this SFP with the low tone (*nà*). With the same example (whether with low or high tones), the longer the SFP is pronounced, the more the speaker appears to be in need of the hearer's compliance to his/her persuasion (corresponding to the case of *please* in English). The SFP *sì* also has many different tonal implications. It is an attitude-neutral suggestion or encouragement in *paj sì* (with the low tone), whereas when pronounced forcefully and abruptly with the same tone, it would sound more like a command. Furthermore, if the pronunciation begins with the falling tone and ends with the high tone, this utterance may as well represent cynicism (as if to be equivalent to *you want to go despite my wish; now I'm warning you that you'll take whatever consequences!*).

2.3.3 Silence and Non-Verbal Clues: Underestimated Politeness Devices

It is a commonly held view that lack of speech indicates that communication is not taking place. With the major task of linguists being to analyse how language works and is used, the inherent indispensability of silence is often overlooked as something that does not merit a serious study (Sifianou, 1995). Silence has long been a subject of much attention in several branches of the humanities (Samarin, 1965; Basso, 1972; Jaworski, 1993). In linguistics, however, silence was only treated as a boundary-marking activity, and not until the end of the 20th century has it gained a place as an essential component of conversation (Saville-Troike, 1985). If communication is taken to be the confluence where the performance and non-performance of speech meet, it naturally follows then that the two can be studied in relation to each other (Jaworski, 1997).

Contrary to the assumption that only verbal statements can transmit a message from one person to another, Samarin (1965: 115) claims that silence is more than just an emptiness or a meaningless unit; like zero in mathematics, silences have functions as well as meanings. Silence has only one form (Kurzon, 1994; cf. Sifianou, 1997b), but the contexts of its occurrence vary in kind. Following Jaworski (1993) and Sifianou (1997b), I find it helpful to distinguish three broad categories of silence: 'intentional silence' (e.g. deliberate pause or cease of speech), 'mandatory silence' (e.g. during a religious ceremony), 'solitary silence' (e.g. walking alone in the park or commuting on the train). Like speech acts, silence (especially the first type) carries different illocutionary forces (Saville-Troike, 1985). It is true that, in most Western cultures, good conversations ought to run with constant continuity,

failing which awkwardness among participating interactants may ensue (Leech, 1983). The fact that someone remains silent could suggest any one of the following interpretations: he/she does not want to talk anymore, he/she does not know what to say next, he/she starts to develop a sore jaw or even he/she feels offended by what the other participant has said, and so on. Jaworski (1993: 38) rightly speculates that, apart from unpleasant states of mind, other emotions like affection, attention, reverence and hesitation expressed through silence sometimes mean more than words could express. Owing to its nature as an abstract entity, silence in conversation is interpreted totally at the discretion of each individual observer (as objectionable, harmless or somewhere in between).

Silence can be a means of encoding politeness, according to Sifianou (1995, 1997b) who analysed it within the framework of politeness theory. She focussed specifically on the link between silence and the fifth strategy of politeness ('do not perform FTAs'); 'if the speaker remains silent, the potentially threatening act is not just mitigated, but avoided altogether' (Sifianou, 1997b: 67). In addition, she analysed Brown and Levinson's fifth strategy further and suggests that silence is prevalent in other strategies as well: in positive politeness (to indicate shared identity with the other speaker), in negative politeness (to avoid embarrassing someone) and off-record politeness (to hint at something). Sifianou did not mention the remaining strategy, but I could imagine the possibility of silence being construed with 'bald-on record politeness' such as a severe look from a wife serving as a 'silent' reprimand directed to her husband.

We have just seen that a complete picture of speech behaviour cannot be established, unless we describe it simultaneously with silence. Another important dimension of silence is non-verbal communication (NVC), which can be divided into several categories (see Graddol et al., 1994; Argyle, 1988). Some notable aspects of the analysis NVC are kinesics (bodily orientations in a broad sense), proxemics (the management of physical distance) and the study of facial expressions. In this chapter, I put an emphasis on their politeness-inducing features.

Politeness is conveyed in part according to the levels of formality of conversation (Brown and Levinson, 1987) and assessed by the interactants' perception regarding their relationship and how their mutual emotional needs can be recognised (Sifianou, 1992: 74). It is within the same framework that NVC has its communicative significance (Tannen and Saville-Troike, 1985; Watts, 1997).

For body contact, various studies have shown that the suitability of how much or how often people would touch each other (e.g. kissing, embracing, hand-shaking) is largely incumbent on how intimate they are (e.g. more kisses and hugs among people in the same household) (Hall, 1972). As a matter of politeness, touching may be considered a non-verbal indicator of solidarity (Sifianou, 1992). Variation exists in different societies. As shown in

Jourard's (1966) study, Puerto Ricans used body contact 180 times and Parisians 100 times per hour, whereas no one in London was found to kiss or hug each other at all in public (see also Graddol et al., 1994: 152). In the Far East, people hardly kiss or hug, unless in intimate relationships; hand-shaking in introductory transactions is practised, but is largely due to the influence of Western culture (Argyle, 1988; Gao, 1991).

Space management is also another important index of politeness. '[A] feeling of "closeness" is accompanied by physical closeness' (Hall, 1972). The proximity manipulated by people – either by the way they sit or by the way they stand – indicates the interplay of variables such as social distance or power status. In cases where power status comes into play, it is customary that people with more superiority would initiate 'spatial violation' on those socially beneath them (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1988: 126). Again, as Graddol et al. (1994: 150) put it, 'it certainly seems to be the case that interactants can be extremely sensitive to distance as an indicator of intimacy or threat'.

The last category of NVC that I will consider is in the area of facial expressions. We should leave the task of finding a consensus on whether facial expressions are biological or cultural to NVC specialists, but one thing we learn from their studies is that this channel of display of emotion and relationship is the least culturally variable (see Graddol et al., 1994; Argyle, 1988). A smile normally indicates that someone is pleased, happy and/or friendly. If accompanied by a brief chuckle, the entire process may be tantamount to a sneer (Argyle and Kendon, 1972: 44). An eye gaze could be a sign of asserting authority or drawing attention, whilst mutual looking is illustrative of two speakers interacting on friendly terms, with no face threat involved – 'the longer periods of eye contact, the greater the level of this mutual involvement' (Argyle and Kendon, 1972: 39).

In sum, NVC and silence bear similar illocutionary forces to speech, and their role is no less important than that of other modes of communication. Greater understanding of human interaction can be achieved by means of an analysis of speech features, together with paralinguistic and non-linguistic behaviours.

2.3.4 Cross-Cultural Variation in the Perception of Politeness

One of the most important functions of language is to convey information, not only information about what we think or how we feel, but also about the various facets of our identities and beliefs of our speech community (Richards, 1982). When one learns a language (regardless of whether it is an L1 or L2), one also learns the culture associated with it. Salzmann (1993: 151) suggests that 'human culture in its great complexity could not have developed and is unthinkable without the aid of language'. In the same vein, Hymes (1962: 13) stipulates that 'culture is transmitted largely through the medium of language, and

behavior is in large measure both learned and expressed through language'. It goes without saying that, in the study of human interaction, the interdependence of language and culture is so notable that one could be meaningless without reference to the other.

Communication between people who are brought up and pursue their lives within the same community does not initiate much confusion, because the language codes and social rules they have learned through socialisation are more or less the same (Berry et al., 1992). However, people's reactions to the practices of another community with which they come in contact vary. Investigating how different cultures operate can, at best, be both interesting and entertaining and, at worst, be unpleasant because it shows how easily interactants from dissimilar backgrounds can take each other's good will in the wrong way. Beebe and Takahashi (1989a) note that, other than misunderstandings, communication across cultural lines has a probability of causing embarrassment, frustration and anger, on all levels of language use (see also Sifianou, 1992). Scollon and Scollon (1995: xii) offer similar observations that misunderstandings on the basis of inadequate knowledge of the grammar of another language is not as great as those that are anchored in the ignorance of cultural differences. Insofar as grammatical features are concerned, the manner through which politeness is expressed varies from culture to culture: to mention but a few, while the Japanese system focuses on the use of specific verb forms, the Samoan one does the same job with complex sentence structures and the Javanese one has recourse to hierarchically-based vocabulary (Holmes, 1995; Geertz, 1968).

Different social practices and customs may cause much puzzlement, followed either by laughter or feelings of offence on the part of the interactants representing the two cultures. For instance, a Thai student in Britain became rather puzzled when asked by her hostess which day of the week she would like to have a bath; she could not understand why she was not expected to bathe everyday, since it is a usual habit in Thailand (owing to hot and humid weather) to have a shower at least once a day. Apparently, it did not cross her mind that British people do not tend to do that so often (Holmes, 1992: 305). In Thailand, a deliberate touching of another person's head is a serious challenge to the Buddhist tradition of regarding the head as the most revered part of the body – a mode of conduct most Westerners do not give much thought to. The display of fondness (such as patting and fondling) in public is tolerated, as long as it does not involve the head of a person. A more grave disciplinary infringement arises if a Buddhist monk subjects himself to any form of touch by women. Several anecdotes about this type of wrongdoing in which foreign female visitors were accused of this violation are recorded in many publications (Cooper and Cooper, 1996; Klausner, 1993; Redmond, 1998). With regard to the convention of good table etiquette, it is also interesting to note that different groups of people do not treat noise during food consumption similarly. In the Far East (especially Japan, China, Korea), slurping shows

one's appreciation of the food; in the Middle East, burping after a meal is a sign of expressing gratitude towards the host. Behaviours like these are disgraceful and frowned upon in the West, where people treat them as social gaffes (Crystal, 1987; Saville-Troike, 1989).

Let us examine cross-cultural issues at a more interactive level. Conversational turn-taking could be very hard to deal with if interactants have differing communicative styles. Miscommunication can take place no matter if the groups being compared have geographical backgrounds as close as the French and the British or as far as individuals from the East and the West. For instance, French and British people have been said to differ considerably in their sequential norms of opening and closing telephone conversations. The convention in France is for self-identification to be done and an apology to be offered by the caller – a routine that is absent in Britain (Godard, 1977; Crystal, 1987: 48). Once the fact that different cultures may have their own idiosyncratic expectations is acknowledged, we can inhibit prejudgements that the French are long-winded and the British impatient, abrupt and impolite. In face-to-face interactions, as reported in Saville-Troike's study (1989), some Amerindian tribes are accustomed to waiting for several minutes in silence before responding to a question or taking the floor in conversation; most Westerners would find that such silence is uncomfortable and would take much less time to frame a response or resume the talk. Clyne's research study (1994: 184-185) gives an account of a similar point: workers of Southeast Asian origins tend not to fight as enthusiastically to maintain their turns as their Australian colleagues, who tend to increase their speaking speed and are often responsible for many overlapping turns. Clyne attributed the rather passive contribution of Southeast Asians to their Confucian values of 'harmony' and 'non-assertiveness', as opposed to the Australian desires to immediately reach an agreement and resolve conflict. In terms of the distinction between verbosity and taciturnity, it is apparent that the observance of 'modesty', with its important facet being introversion in speech, is more powerful in Asia than in English-speaking societies (Leech, 1983). Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Thais can be judged by Anglo-Americans as lacking motivation and certainty in expressing their viewpoints and, worse still, as having little intellectual capability (Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990; Brislin, 1993; Bailey, 1997). Despite this preconception, it has been revealed to the contrary that Asians prefer to make their opinion known through careful consideration, rather than through the aggressive and confrontational approach common in Anglo-American cultures (Littlewood, 1999). An often quoted passage by Thomas (1983: 97) explains it all: 'misunderstandings of this nature are almost certainly at the root of unhelpful and offensive national stereotyping: "the abrasive Russian/German", and "the obsequious Indian/Japanese", "the insincere American", and "the standoffish Briton"'.

From this vantage point, it is necessary to recognise that variation in cultural assumptions exists because different groups of people do not conceptualise speech acts in the same manner. For example, as will be discussed in chapter 5, complimenting in Anglo-American societies is quite a neutral speech act, which operates as a social lubricant, whereas in Thailand, it often has disapproving connotations of flattery. Wierzbicka (1985, 1991a) maintains that a majority of speech act studies rest solely upon the English language and English ethnocentrism, although the definitions (and implications) of speech acts do vary across cultural lines. The distinction of directness and indirectness in requests is regularly cited to illustrate this domain of inquiry. Findings from numerous projects have attested that English speakers like to be indirect by producing their requests with more interrogatives, beginning with modal auxiliary verbs such as *can, could, will, would*, while other groups (for example, the Greeks, the French, the Germans, the Poles, the Israelis), to varying degrees, tend to be more direct and allow more use of bare imperatives (Sifianou, 1992; Béal, 1992; House, 1989; Wierzbicka, 1985; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, respectively for each project). The fact that English serves as a base for the studies of requests in other major European languages easily leads one to form an impression that English is a normal plane for examination and that what is true with English *should* be so with other languages. Languages that drift away from this ethnocentric model have to undergo unfortunate labellings as not ordinary, not normal, not logical, and eventually not *polite*. 'On the contrary, it is English which seems to differ from most other European languages along the lines indicated here' (Wierzbicka, 1985: 149). Research studies on other types of speech acts have often pointed to the feasibility of this speculation (see chapters 5, 6 and 7 for further discussion).

2.4 Conclusions

Face-to-face interactions can be analysed within different multi-dimensional frameworks. Speech act theorists identified a three-way interactional paradigm whereby we do things by means of speech: a 'locutionary act' (form), an 'illocutionary force' (function) and a 'perlocutionary effect' (impact). Having more to do with pragmatics than the first, the second stage lies at the very heart of speech act theory. Illocutionary forces exert a considerable influence on the assessment of politeness and are consistent with the 'intentions' that the speaker assigns to a verbal act. Dependent on the context of speaking, several intentions can be associated with the locution *I won't come*, ranging from the easily detectable forces (such as a simple reply, a promise and a prediction) to less explicit forces (such as a polite refusal, an indirect request and a word of warning). Acute individuals are aware not only of the extent of politeness inherent in these speech acts, but also that certain speech acts barely encode polite behaviour. For instance, as regards the speech act of

reprimanding, the speaker can never come across as polite, no matter how indirect and how subtle they may try to be. It is impossible for us to make something sound polite when our intentions run against it. The third stage is no less important because, without accounting for this, no one knows whether a verbal act has been successfully performed or whether it has fulfilled the communicative goals of both the speaker and the hearer. As an example, the act of persuading would not come to fruition, unless the person being persuaded has managed to carry out what was asked of him/her (Cruse, 2000).

Grice's CP and its maxims are rudimentary guidelines that pave the way towards our achieving a discourse contribution that is as informative, truthful, relevant and clear as possible. Human interactions are, unfortunately, far from ideal, and we need to fall back on his conversational implicatures to explicate the flouting of maxims and to ascertain the ultimate truth. Other approaches to pragmatics that expand on speech act theory and the CP also offer a powerful input, whether it be Lakoff's concept of grammatical well-formedness, Leech's PP and its maxims, Fraser and Nolen's notion of the conversational contract or Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory. It may be inferred that, despite our wishes to conform to the principles guiding conversations, our verbal interactions violate these norms very often. However, breaking the rules of appropriate speech behaviour does not always mean that people intend to be impolite by 'misbehaving' verbally. On the contrary, interactants sometimes prefer to and even sometimes find it necessary to 'play' with different features of language (e.g. jokes, puns, double entendre, proverbs, irony and so on) to accomplish specific communicative goals such as asserting solidarity, expressing friendliness and seeking rhetorical creativity (see Crystal, 1998, for a summary on the idea of 'language play').

'Face' (or 'facework') is a concept that represents the ways people regulate their interactional behaviour as well as the structure of social relationships. It also describes the allowance they make for their free will to be recognised – the point where camaraderie ceases and imposition starts. Brown and Levinson's linguistic politeness theory was developed on this assumption. Many academics say that the theory stops short in its claim to universal applicability. The distinction between negative and positive politeness (and its accompanying strategies) is a plausible one, as long as we take careful consideration of the caveats about how to interpret and apply it to different languages and cultures.

The 'big four' in sociolinguistics (that is, age, gender, social class and ethnicity) have been reported to operate in a broad variety of languages (see Preston, 1986; 1989), including those that constitute the object of the present study: English and Thai. The relative importance the languages give to each variable differ, however. For instance, the age variable is more powerful in Thailand. Unlike English, in Thai personal reference and address usage, the average age of dyads (along with details of social class) must be known so

that suitable pronouns and address forms can be chosen. On the whole, gender variation is clearly distinguished in the selection of the vocabulary in these domains in Thai, much more so than in English. With the change of social stratification between interactants comes the necessity for a Thai person to alter and re-define their repertoire of verbal choices to meet the requirements of politeness in a new context. Again, it has been revealed that Thai culture, an overwhelmingly hierarchical one, has a greater tendency to make this mechanism show in language than does British culture, a largely egalitarian one. The system of sentence final particles (SFPs) are another plane of examination into how Thai speakers relate to one another, on the basis social mood and formality of context of speaking.

Linguistic politeness will only be fully understood, if the anaylsis of speech goes hand-in-hand with the account of other types of communication, notably silence and non-verbal communication. When people speak, they do not just speak with their words, but also with their gestures: eye contact, mutual gaze, the movement of hands, how physical space is managed can all be incorporated within the macro-level study of politeness. I do not discuss here the use of intonation and other prosodic features that can convey politeness beyond segmental linguistic means. Nevertheless, to give a brief illustration, if someone were to say *well, I like that*, a stress on *I* would indicate that the speaker is pleased with something; if it falls somewhere else, it may imply the opposite (e.g. that they are annoyed).

A folk approach to communication across cultures often wonders which society is polite and which one is not. Like most other scholars, I may as well advocate that it is up to what different peoples take politeness to mean and what cultural values are considered important in each individual society. Stereotyping seems unavoidable but is useful in some cases, especially if researchers take prejudgements as hypotheses in the attempt to carry out their own empirical investigations, which may then support or disclaim them. Two things are certain: no cultures are more polite than others, and they are only different in culture-specific ways.

CHAPTER 3

Methodological Considerations

To arrive at a decision about which data collection methods should be adopted is a problematic endeavour in any structured investigation into the social life of language. In the study of spoken discourse, it is beyond question that naturally occurring speech is the most reliable source of data. Unfortunately, the fact that there are so many problems and intervening variables involved in each speech event makes it hard for researchers to take full advantage of spontaneous speech. This chapter examines two major research methods – observation and elicitation – in sociolinguistics and speech act studies. Their general characteristics, benefits and inadequacies are evaluated.

3.1 In Pursuit of Natural Speech

In its strict sense, 'natural speech' means utterances produced and observed in casual, colloquial and non-intrusive interactive events (Labov, 1972a; Wolfson, 1976). Being an elusive entity, several strategies have been formulated to capture and to explain it. In traditional quantitative research in sociolinguistics, 'observation procedures' via tape-recordings or fieldnotes have been accorded precedence over other methods, namely 'elicitation methods' via role plays or written tasks (Rose and Ono, 1995), or 'the use of the linguist's introspection' (Widdowson, 1996). An observational approach, pioneered by anthropologists, appears the most appropriate technique, because it attempts to describe linguistic behaviour in natural settings (Wolfson, 1988). The findings of any sociolinguistic projects should ideally be based on observation, rather than on elicitation, which relies heavily on the informants' intuitive judgements and on what they think they would say, instead of what they actually say (Aston, 1995; Wolfson, 1981b, 1986, among many others). However, although observational methods have been acclaimed for their objectivity, there are inherent pitfalls in them.

A well-known predicament is the dilemma known as 'the observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972a). We need to record the ways in which informants converse without their realising that their linguistic behaviour is being investigated. However, sociolinguistic fieldwork cannot, in general, be undertaken without the presence of the researcher and/or the use of his/her recording equipment (Cheshire, 1982; Milroy, 1987). Clandestine recordings might seem an obvious solution (see Coates, 1998), but objections have been raised against such practices. For ethical reasons, many have stressed that the subjects be sensitised, either

before or after the fieldwork, to the reasons behind the researcher's presence (for example, Cameron et al., 1993). Wolfson (1976: 199) rightly maintains in this connection that 'we do not have the right to assume that our subjects are unconscious of observation'. Informants who are aware of being monitored sometimes pay more attention to the formality of the situation in which the researcher has put them and fail to produce the casual speech styles (Cheshire, 1982: 7; Stubbs, 1983; Wolfson, 1976; Wilson, 1994).

Experienced fieldworkers have proposed several 'remedies', which may alleviate the conflict in the observer's paradox, such as working as a 'friend of a friend' within social networks (Milroy, 1987; Wilson, 1987), requesting the informants to make recordings by themselves or using the method of long-term participant observation (Cheshire, 1982). Again, these can lead to difficulties. It was found that the first alternative is not always plausible, for example, an efficient 'insider' may not be available before fieldwork is due to start. With the second alternative, one cannot ensure the total reliability of the informants' own recordings. Though wanting to co-operate in the first place, some informants realise later that they do not have enough time to do authentic recordings and, consequently, opt for creating simulated conversations on tape. Worse still, the recordings may also be 'tape-affected' (Wilson, 1987). The third alternative can be extremely demanding. Integrating oneself into an unfamiliar setting (in order to record compliments and apologies among factory workers, for example) in the hope of gathering a large amount of data can be very time-consuming, prior to which a cordial relationship with the informants must be established. Labov (1978) and Wilson (1987) suggest that another resort is to utilise 'peer contexts', where the investigator and informants know each other quite well and belong to the same groups. For example, lecturers record speech samples among themselves and students follow suit with other students. However, the research literature shows that, more often than not, this particular piece of advice has not been much implemented.

3.2 Effects of the Ethnographer's Identities

A point that needs to be taken into account relates to the role of the data collector and the impact it may have on the acquisition and interpretation of data from the target population. The decision as to which procedure should be used is very much dependent upon the relationship between the ethnographer and the speech community under study, plus the type of data to be collected (see Saville-Troike, 1989: 117).

A most significant factor is the gender of the researcher (Holmes, 1988b; Cordella et al., 1995). It has been reported time and time again that some speech acts (e.g. compliments and apologies) occurred more frequently in exchanges between female speakers (Wolfson, 1981a, 1983a; Herbert, 1989). In Holmes's (1988a, 1988b) studies, it is reported that the

overwhelming majority of the data were not only used by females, but also collected by them. Acknowledging this methodological bias, Holmes (1988b: 449-451) remarks that although more data from male data collectors were required to obtain greater generalisability, the frequency of compliments obtained by the female students did appear to be far greater quantitatively than that obtained by their male fellows anyway. This justification seems convincing, but my doubt remains that if one aims for ideal representativeness, the number of collectors from both genders must be more or less even.

Besides gender, other social factors could also have an impact on data collection (Labov, 1972a; Cordella et al., 1995). The higher the correlation between the investigator and the investigated individuals in age, social class, status and solidarity, the more comfortable the latter would feel in producing natural speech. Wolfson (1976: 196-197) cited cases of interactions in interviews. For instance, female adolescents were overtly self-conscious about their speech such that they ended up giggling while interrogated by a teenage male interviewer. It could have been easier if both parties were of the same gender and/or shared a fair degree of solidarity (in this case, they were strangers). Another account relates to the problems of age and status difference (Wolfson, ibid.). A female student interviewing a successful restaurant owner 20 years her senior was interrupted by her subject, expressing his view about her line of questioning from the very beginning of the session. His greater age and the authority he assumed for himself gave him no hesitation in taking the role initially reserved solely for the interviewer. Differences in various types of identities between the researcher and the informants should be kept at a minimum, then. Moreover, since it is clear that the aberrant behaviour of the participants can potentially put the original research objectives in jeopardy, a good researcher is expected to have a resolute view about what sampling methods should be deployed as well as how to select the most co-operative and sensible informants (Chaika, 1989: 25).

The ethnicity of the investigator also influences the manner by which the data are obtained. The researcher acting alone has a bigger task before him/her since, without the help of assistant data collectors, it would be difficult to record speech samples in some settings. The job of the researcher who is not a member of the community in question may be even harder, particularly when data from private domains are needed. Thanks to the insights of Wolfson's Bulge theory (1988), the foreign data collector can feel less burdened, as her studies show that several speech acts can be heard far more frequently in conversations among non-intimates (see 5.3.1.4). I am not implying here that ethnographers should fall back on this widely recognised hypothesis to excuse themselves from gathering data in all the available circumstances (cf. Wolfson, 1976: 204-205). Any 'relevant' data that have entered a corpus should be treated, interpreted and analysed appropriately for the methods by which they have been obtained and in the most accurate manner.

3.3 Methods in Speech Act-Based Sociolinguistic Research

It should be noted that ethnographic research in the Labovian tradition was chiefly intended to explicate problems of the observer's paradox in the study of language change and variation, where natural speech relies on tape- or video-recorded conversations. Having said that, in most speech act research, natural speech represents data gathered by means of 'written observation'. In order to obtain as many details of syntactic, lexical and stylistic elements as possible, audiotape recording is a useful method of observation (Brown and Yule, 1983; Nunan, 1993), but not necessarily so when the research objectives focus on speech act realisation, the implications of which are discussed in 3.3.1.

As far as speech act research is concerned, fieldworkers assert that a large amount of data should be gathered before any hard and fast generalisations from a study can be made. However, there seems little consensus about whether several hundred or several thousand samples of speech acts would suffice. In their series of research studies on complimenting behaviour in American English, Wolfson and Manes (see Wolfson, 1989) spent well over eight years collecting some 1,200 compliments, whereas it took Herbert (1989) three years to gather 1,062 examples. Wolfson (1986: 690) says that 'examples of a particular feature of speech behavior may occur so rarely or so unpredictably that large samples are difficult to come by'. Aston (1995) gives a similar opinion that sometimes it can be a matter of years before a satisfactory 'quantity' as well as 'quality' of data becomes available. On the other hand, other analysts were satisfied with smaller corpus sizes: for example, Holmes (1988a) reports on 517 compliments, Holmes (1990) reports on 187 apologies and Cordella et al. (1995) cover 148 English and 40 Spanish compliments. Though not offering an estimate of an ideal quantity, Holmes (1988a: 505) confirms that, after comparing the results of her pilot investigation (including 200 compliment exchanges) with a follow-up study (including 500 compliment exchanges), the patterns of complimenting behaviour already became 'reliably apparent' in the smaller corpus (see also Wolfson, 1989: 222).

3.3.1 Observational Techniques

We said above that language change and variation can best be studied from tape-recorded speech (see Milroy, 1987; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Yuan, 2001). However, for speech act-based studies, a more feasible approach is required (see below), since the occurrence of speech acts is often sporadic and we are not able to predict when and where they may be heard (Wolfson, 1986; Clyne, 1994). Collecting specific speech acts by a tape recorder is virtually impossible, in that each situation is sociolinguistically different (Beebe and Takahashi (1989b: 201). In any event, it is impractical to leave the recording equipment in

continuous operation, and it may be too late when the researcher realises that an interesting example has just occurred and he/she was not quick enough to snatch the recorder to keep track of it. When this happens, the researcher stands the chance of having nothing to report after spending several hours in anticipation. Even if one concentrates on acquiring data from a set-up scenario, one does not always get the desired results. For instance, Aguilar Murillo et al. (1991, quoted in Cohen, 1996b: 24) attempted to gather apology interchanges by planting someone crouching behind a door and videotaping when the person was hit as another person was opening the door. After many repeated experiments, the researchers found that an apology was not heard every time such an incident took place. Here in Britain, I followed a series of television programmes called 'Style Challenge', which involved a team of designers putting new clothes and make-up on a few invitees, and discovered that the completion of the makeover did not always prompt others to compliment the participating guests.

Recognising the limitations of audiotape-recorded techniques, most speech act researchers have introduced other alternatives. A very popular one is the fieldnote technique (via both participant and non-participant observation), in which the investigator writes down the speech act he/she has (over)heard or seen as quickly as possible (for research by fieldnotes on 'compliments', see, Wolfson, 1981b, 1983a, 1989; Wolfson and Manes, 1981; Herbert, 1989; Herbert and Straight, 1989; Holmes, 1988a, 1988b, 1995; Yuan, 2001; on 'invitations and compliments', see Wolfson, 1981b; on 'chastisement and disagreement', see Beebe and Takahashi, 1989a, 1989b; on 'apologies', see Holmes 1989, 1990; and on 'thanking', see Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, 1993). This method reduces the onus on the researcher, in particular, of having to carry a recorder around. As Stubbs (1983: 230) says, 'in making notes in the field, [the researcher is] already interpreting, analysing and making choices about what to record and what to miss out'. In conjunction with this, I would add that, in many circumstances, such data draw on the linguistic behaviour of informants with whom the researcher is familiar and can confidently vindicate as noteworthy sources (see also Yuan, 2001: 275). Holmes and Brown (1987: 524) gave an encouraging conjecture that 'though [the note-taking] method is not as accurate as tape-recording, it is perfectly adequate for collecting compliment sequences when phonology is not the focus of study, and it is very much more productive than attempts to record a sufficiently rich and varied sample on tape'.

Beebe and Takahashi (1989b: 201) have noted the limitations of the note-taking approach. Word-for-word recall would be accurate only if the core speech act aimed at is not too lengthy. Sometimes the relevant speech act does not limit itself only to a two-part conversation, in which the speaker says something in the first turn and the hearer replies in the second turn. Alongside this, 'what can be recalled relatively accurately in long interchanges is the function of the utterances and the type of semantic formula used to fulfill

the function' (Beebe and Takahashi, ibid.). The researcher still needs to use his/her personal judgement in identifying some contextual parameters (e.g. number of addressees in the situation) and social parameters (notably, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, occupation, and power and distance between speakers) (Beebe and Cummings, 1996: 67). These factors are difficult to pinpoint by appearance alone, unless the information is made available in full by the speakers themselves or someone who knows them well.

It should be underlined once again that many scholars advocate the usefulness of the note-taking approach (as Wolfson and several of her associates have recommended); nevertheless, in my viewpoint, they seem to equate data from fieldnotes with data from tape-recordings and take it for granted that note-taking is capable of obtaining all the nuances that the natural data have to offer. Both types of data may occur naturally, but the manners in which they are recorded are dissimilar. Fieldnote investigators should always acknowledge these setbacks in their studies.

3.3.2 Discourse Completion Tests

Since the 1980s, the call for an ethnographic approach to analyse variation in spontaneous conversations has been displaced by the demand for the explanation of cross-cultural communication (Aston, 1995; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Nelson et al., 1996). Studies in contrastive and interlanguage pragmatics have directed our attention to more efficient but less time-consuming techniques, three of which are discourse completion tests (DCTs), oral role plays and discourse construction questionnaires (DCs).

A DCT is a kind of written questionnaire, which Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 13-14) describe as consisting of 'scripted dialogues that represent socially differentiated situations. Each dialogue is preceded by a short description of the situation, specifying the setting, and the social distance between the participants and their status relative to each other, followed by an incomplete dialogue' (from which one turn is omitted). For the purpose of illustration, examples 1 and 2 are DCT dialogues used to elicit an apology interchange (adapted from Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 274):

Example 1
In a crowded non-smoking compartment. David is going by train from London to Manchester. In Watford, another passenger enters the non-smoking compartment and takes the last available seat. After a while, he lights a cigarette.
David: .....
Passenger: Okay, I'll put it out.

Example 2
In the lobby of the university library. Jim and Charlie have agreed to meet at six o'clock to work on a joint project. Charlie arrives on time and Jim is half and hour late.
Charlie: I almost gave up on you!
Jim:.....
Charlie: OK. Let's start working.

Copies of DCTs are distributed to respondents who would write down in the space provided what they think they would say or they could indicate if they prefer to say nothing in certain circumstances (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, 1993).

It can be said that the DCT technique is a feasible choice when more controllable data and a larger number of responses need to be acquired in a shorter fieldwork period than is needed for random observations (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Hill et al., 1986; Beebe and Takahashi, 1989b; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993). Under this method, 'there is no problem capturing what [the informants] give as a response because the data are written' (Beebe and Takahashi, 1989b: 201). Several speech act analysts have revealed that there are certain differences in the length of responses from fieldnotes and from DCTs: the former are more complex and involve more negotiative sequences. What is equally interesting is that most of what the informants wrote corresponds closely syntactically and semantically to what they actually did say in the same speech event as observed by other methods of inquiry (Beebe and Takahashi, ibid.; Eisenstein and Bodman, ibid.) (but see below).

Nonetheless, DCTs have been criticised for their decontextualised nature (Aston, 1995; Wolfson et al., 1989; Rose, 1994) and for being capable only of eliciting the results of the informants' introspection; the situational contexts and interpersonal relationships have been pre-determined by the researcher. As Aston (1995: 63) puts it, DCTs are not always representative of real-life interactions 'whose development and outcome is continuously negotiable'. There are other five problems that remain untackled. First, since our objective is to describe the spoken language rather than the written one, it is worth questioning the assumed equivalence between the written responses and authentic speech. While several research projects have confirmed that the results from fieldnotes and DCTs are generally similar, this generalisation can underestimate the similarity. That is, while some grammatical features selected by questionnaire completers are akin to spontaneous speech forms, others are never observed in actual conversations (Wolfson et al., 1989: 182). Second, one cannot be certain whether, despite the detailed instructions, the respondents would remember to write their answers consistently according to the various factors pre-selected by the researcher (for example, a female student respondent having to play the roles of a construction worker, of a priest, then of a cleaner and so on). Third, some informants may be under pressure to complete such questionnaires in a hurry; as a consequence, they may write very brief responses and/or use the same ones repeatedly for other dialogues. Fourth, with regard to the observer's paradox, the respondents may ponder too much on the formal aspect of writing and be unable to give answers that are considered casual (Rintell and Mitchell, 1989: 250). Finally, because DCTs are written, various accompanying details such as the prosodic features and the kinesic aspects of utterances cannot be identified.

3.3.3 Role Play Experiments

Resembling the DCT method, role plays are also open-ended and need two informants to fulfill the roles of the dyads. Role plays are believed by many speech act analysts to be able to resolve some of the problems associated with the DCT technique, since they give the informants an opportunity to say as much as they want without the restriction of the blank space, and thus, are assumed to be 'a good indication of [the subjects'] "natural" way of speaking' (Rintell and Mitchell, 1989: 251). Examples 3 and 4 are the role-play versions of examples 1 and 2 (adapted from Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 274). To elicit the speech act of apologising, the experimenter orally describes the situation (or the dialogue item) to both informants:

> **Example 3**
> Two men are in a crowded non-smoking compartment of a train from London to Manchester. Speaker A boards the train from London, while speaker B joins the train at Watford, enters the non-smoking compartment and takes the last available seat. After a while, speaker B lights a cigarette. Speaker A becomes annoyed with the smoke and finds it necessary to apologise to speaker B and ask him to stop smoking. Imagine that you are speaker A, and you, speaker B. What would you say to one another in this situation?
>
> **Example 4**
> Jim and Charlie are classmates and they have agreed to meet in the lobby of a university library at six o'clock to work on a joint project. Charlie arrives on time but Jim is half an hour late. Charlie feels as if he is being treated unfairly and he wants to make this shown to Jim. If you were Charlie, what would you say? And if you were Jim, what would you say?

Role plays can produce data that are relatively equivalent to those obtained from natural exchanges, if we consider the premise that role plays are also interactive. On the plus side, their responses can either be audiotaped (see, for instance, Rintell and Mitchell, 1989; Aston, 1995; Meier, 1996) or videotaped (see, for instance, García, 1989; Trosbørg, 1987). Nevertheless, role plays cannot be taken as equivalent to natural speech, because the dyads perform the assumed roles as 'imaginary characters' (Aston, 1995: 64). After being given the instructions and the situational factors, the informants are required to perform the role plays immediately, unlike the case of DCT where they have some time to plan their thoughts. This indicates that, above all, the role-play subjects should possess good acting and performing skills. Like other analysts before him, Aston (ibid.) offered the following comment: 'the relevant concerns may be the putting on of a performance which is entertaining for actors and observers alike, giving rise to the overacting, laughter, and distancing from role which typify much role-play interaction'. There have been many suggestions that the researcher should recruit informants who have social roles corresponding to those of the imaginary characters (Rintell and Mitchell, 1989). Illuminating as this may sound on first hearing, the advice does not sound very workable in my opinion.

4.3.4 Discourse Construction Questionnaires

The works of Cohen and Olshtain (1981), Olshtain and Cohen (1983), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), and Cohen et al. (1986) inspired a group of speech act analysts to carry out the 'Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project' (CCSARP) (1989), in which it was agreed to use DCTs as a common research technique. However, as mentioned earlier, many have pointed to the practical inadequacies of this methodology. Scholars such as Rintell and Mitchell (1989) and Bergman and Kasper (1993) were among the first to propose a mixed elicitation methodology called the 'Dialogue Construction Questionnaire' (DC) or simply the 'written role play'. Under this technique, the instructions given to the informants are the same as in examples 3 and 4, but in the written form and one informant (instead of two) is tested at a time. DCs make it possible for the informants to give their responses as completely as they want, since there is no space limit. An apparent point that differentiates the DC from the original DCT is the elimination of the second line following the first one where the informants provide their responses. Rintell and Mitchell (1989: 251) argue that the elimination is necessary, because the presence of the scripted line may influence the informants' decision on what to say in the first line. With DCs, we are also capable of eliciting 'replies' to the speech acts under study – just like 'killing two birds with one stone'.

3.4 Mixed Methods: Myth or Reality?

Undoubtedly, a research project does not have to rely only on one source. In fact, we can have recourse to many data-collection techniques. Wolfson and many analysts in neighbouring fields have suggested the use of multiple-method approaches such as 'a two-pronged approach' (Wolfson, 1986: 697; Holmes, 1990: 165) or the one more commonly known as 'triangulation' (Stubbs, 1983; Jonkman, 1991; McGroathy and Zhu, 1997). By applying several methods, each set of data would be mutually complementary and could serve as a useful check on the validity of one another. Stubbs (183: 234) points out that 'it is a matter of everyday commonsense [...] that accounts of an event should be cross-checked against other independent accounts or evidence gathered by a variety of methods'. An illustration of a mixed method runs as follows: during the early stages of a corpus design, the researcher systematically observes the utterances of as many subjects in as many natural settings as possible in order to identify, for example, how speech forms are internally structured, which types of factors tend to influence their occurrence and what functions they can serve (see also Cheshire, 1996: 369-370). Later, the researcher designs an elicitation instrument in order to verify the generalisability of the observed findings and any hypotheses that may have emerged from them (Wolfson, 1986: 696-697; Holmes, 1990: 165). This

enables the analyst to arrive at firmer conclusions and to gain access to a more integrative perspective (Cohen, 1996: 24; Saville-Troike, 1989: 10). In support of this, Sifianou (1992: 5) maintains that the researcher can eventually provide 'right answers to hard questions'.

Mixed-methods are beneficial alternatives, though that is not the end of the story. Only when they are adopted do linguists realise that by using more than one method, various complications will result and a great deal of precaution must be taken when it comes to data analysis (see chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 (especially)). Of course, triangulation and the two-pronged approach permit us to look at specific questions from different angles, but to expect that cross-checking data in this way will result in each set of findings being 'uniform' is a naive assumption. Different methods have their own merits as well as inadequacies; some are only appropriate to collect spontaneous data, while others cannot do the same job.

3.5 Conclusions

The question of how a researcher should collect their data still rests on the threshold of much debate (Sifianou, 1992; Brown and Yule, 1983). Arguments on the most plausible research methods have long been unsettled, due to fieldworkers having different expectations and different backgrounds in academic training. It is recommended that, to start with, the researcher should have a clear view on what and how to investigate, and how to be positive about their own data. I agree with Wilson (1987: 161) when he notes that 'if sociolinguists fail to produce positive arguments for the status of their data, any conclusions which are based on such data may turn out to be unfounded'. On similar lines, I would also commend the opposite that that there is nothing wrong with producing *negative* arguments either. I maintain this polarity, because I believe that only through being thoroughly analytical about the findings will we see the good and bad sides of a study and come to appreciate what is there for us to report.

It seems unwise to show a predilection for certain methodologies and to completely neglect using some others. Sifianou (1992: 3-4) eloquently maintains that 'to condemn one approach entirely and present and support another as the *only* scientifically justifiable one is unrealistic ... [because] it is very easy to make claims which are too general and too strong' [italics added]. Wolfson emphasises that we should contend with 'observing' the 'observable' and further (1976: 202) purports that 'there is no single, absolute entity answering the notion of natural/casual speech. If speech is felt to be appropriate to a situation and the goal, then it is natural in that context'.

It is my personal conviction that methodology should be seen as 'an assortment of alternatives' that we can choose to follow, rather than 'a set of absolutes' that we have to abide by. Labov (1972b: 119) offers an undisputed remark: 'it is not necessary for everybody

to use the same methods - it is far better if we do not'. In like manner, Sifianou (1992: 5) states that 'we can profit from the advantages of one method while overcoming the limitations of another [by collecting] data from a variety of sources'. While Wolfson's (1986: 697) caveat is invaluable: 'analysts who rely entirely on elicitation instruments run the serious risk of gathering data which may obscure important variables or which may even completely misinterpret interactional patterns', we should not forget that no single data collection methodology has been found to be technically adequate, neither 'observation' nor 'elicitation'. Data elicitation procedures are revolutionary, in that they make possible the acquisition of substantial resources in a restricted time scale. Nevertheless, they can be less able than observational methods to represent spontaneous speech forms. Mixed methods may come to the rescue of most data-collecting procedures discussed, but then again researchers must use extra care when collecting, categorising and analysing each specific data set.

CHAPTER 4

The Corpus and the Data

4.1 Data Collecting Procedures

The present project employs two approaches to data collection: one 'naturalistic' and the other 'instrumental'. In this chapter, corpus design and data gathering procedures are explained, with reference to both the pilot study and the main study. Several problems were encountered in obtaining the elicited (instrumental) data. Although I considered several ways of expanding on this data set, I eventually settled on giving priority in the analysis to the observational data, using the questionnaire data for supplementary information only. The main analysis, therefore, relies on spontaneous speech.

The discussion and analysis of my findings in chapter 5 (compliments), chapter 6 (apologies) and chapter 7 (thanks) are organised as follows. For the naturalistic data, a review of previous research and general definitions of speech acts are given first, followed by an account of the typical strategies used to perform them, their functions and topics, the impacts of the solidarity, power and gender variables (in the case of the Thai data, the age variable also). Responses to the three speech acts are then analysed. For the instrumental data, the discussion is devoted to describing speech act forms used in the questionnaires, followed by the issues concerning address forms, personal pronouns and politeness-related devices (in the case of the Thai questionnaire data, sentence final particles are examined), after which responses to written speech acts are investigated. The three data chapters are finalised with concluding remarks.

With regard to the target population, both naturalistic and instrumental findings were drawn from informants of varying but comparable backgrounds, with the overwhelming majority being middle-class speakers of British English and Thai, in the Greater London area and the Bangkok metropolis respectively.

4.1.1 Fieldnotes of Spontaneous Conversations

As briefly delineated above, the naturally occurring data of my project were gathered from conversational situations of speakers from all walks of life, although the middle-class constituted the largest part among the target population. Exchanges of compliments, apologies and thanks were noted down immediately after the interchanges had been heard (or overheard) on a purpose-designed chart, which I call a 'fieldnote record' (see appendix A). Alongside these, I also kept a record of available and/or discernible interpersonal and

situational particulars such as the speaker's gender, age, social class, occupation, his/her relationship with the hearer as well as the number of audience, degree of formality and the general atmosphere of the speech event. I included as many social settings as possible, namely on public transport, during weekend trips, radio and television programmes, interviews and talk shows, academic seminars, in the streets, in pubs, in restaurants and at dinner parties.

With the British data, the fieldwork lasted approximately one year and two months. This period yielded **232** compliment exchanges, **228** apology exchanges and **300** thanking exchanges. Since this study has its focus on the speech of native speakers of British English, I made sure that non-British participants (including myself) were always on the receiving end of the interchange (that is, as complimentees and apologisees only), and that any utterances produced by us were not included in the analysis.

There were numerous occasions when a single strand of utterances contained more than one speech act under investigation (such as a compliment 'followed' by a thanks and a compliment 'responded' by a thanks). With these instances entering my corpus, I decided to treat each speech act quantitatively in its own chapter. This phenomenon is discussed further in 8.1.

An unavoidable shortcoming of my natural data was that some types of interactions (notably between family members and intimates in private domains, colleagues in their work place) were virtually inaccessible, due to my outsider relationship to the British English-speaking community. I had the advantage, nonetheless, of having several native speakers such as friends and undergraduate students from a sociolinguistics course at the University of London to help me with the collection of a few dozens of samples. Their contributions did not result in gaining as large a quantity of data from family settings as I had anticipated.

Although classifying interpersonal factors into clearly defined models is a difficult enterprise, researchers are generally content with broad tripartite categorisations (see 4.1.2.2 and also discussions of the difficulties in Spencer-Oatey, 1996). Two such factors I have chosen to examined in this study are the solidarity variable (D) and the power variable (P). A considerable proportion of my data were observed between individuals who had a fair degree of solidarity (familiarity), during radio and television programmes such as interviews, talk shows (exclusive of soap operas and commercials, which are not spontaneous in the sense that they are performed entirely on the basis of dialogue scripts) (see Sifianou, 1992). I regarded the participants in these circumstances as 'friends' (not as 'strangers'), because such speech events required their conversational contributions to be very similar to those among normal friends and acquaintances (Wolfson, 1976; Beebe and Cummings, 1996). It is not easy to determine the power status of participants either. As an illustration, in business encounters, there is no absolute line of differentiation that shows more power dominance of

one party over the other party (e.g. a taxi driver may be under obligation to give service and thus is powerless when compared to his passenger, but conversely one may argue that the driver has more power, as he is the one who is in control of the car). Besides consulting contextual details, my approach was to classify whoever gave custom as being socially inferior to those requiring one. The status distinction was generally clear (e.g. between mother and child, lecturer and student, doctor and patient, customer and shopkeeper), but when it was blurry, I have categorised everyone else as being social equals (e.g. DJ and pub-goer, host of TV programme and contestant, radio interviewer and interviewee).

As regards the Thai fieldnote data, I collected speech act tokens on two occasions in Bangkok, which together extended over a period of eight months. To ensure comparability, I used similar procedures and settings to those I did earlier with the British data. For instance, recall that the British data were collected mostly outside familial interactions. Though being an insider of Thai society, I did not take part in speech situations involving family members, because originally I am not a native of Bangkok, where the data collection took place. The classificatory schemes for the D and P variables were the same as those I analysed with the British data set; in addition, the Thai data aimed to evaluate the impact of the 'age' variable (also with a three-way distinction) (see further in 5.3.2.4). All speakers were native speakers of Thai and produced **186** compliment exchanges, **131** apology exchanges and **194** thanking exchanges.

4.1.2 Discourse Construction Questionnaires (DCs).

The discourse construction questionnaires (DCs) were adopted as a second research methodology on the understanding that they could produce data in both conversation turns (unlike DCTs) and do not need more than one informant at a time (unlike oral role plays). DCs were selected for several objectives: to cross-check the reliability of the ethnographic data, to investigate further the speech events previously collected via fieldnotes and to fill some gaps which had been left in previous research. Three sets of DCs were formulated for the three speech acts under investigation: DC(A)s for 'compliments', DC(B)s for 'apologies', and DC(C)s for 'thanks' (see appendix B). These questionnaires have a supporting role to the natural data, and the analysis of the written data was to describe certain features of speech acts only. The speaker's gender, status, distance and age and those of the other interactant were determined at the time of questionnaire preparation.

4.1.2.1 *Questionnaire Design and Pilot Tests*

Most researchers who work on speech acts only mention in passing how they formulated their elicitation instruments, preferring to place greater emphasis on analysing their findings. By not describing the manner in which they designed their questionnaires and/or role plays, they seem to underestimate the most important process of research which is 'primary to analysis ... [and] is a more powerful determinant of the final product' (Kasper and Dahl, 1991: 216).

My questionnaire design was built on the findings of previous empirical research on compliments and apologies, which is based on the hypothesis that the speech acts can be grouped according to regular topics (see 4.1.2.2). For instance, Holmes (1988a, 1995) found four recurrent topics in her compliments. Also, Holmes (1990) discovered five broad topics of apologies. There are not as yet any studies that directly address and define the topics consonant with 'thanks' in a useful manner. Following my natural data collection and the existing literature (such as Aijmer, 1996; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993), therefore, I identified five broad topics in which thanking expressions tended to occur (see 4.1.2.2).

A series of questionnaire distributions were pilot-tested in the hope of establishing the most 'user friendly' format (see Oliver, 1997). The feedback received from the first trial indicated a need for the length and number of dialogue items to be reduced. Although the respondents reported no substantial difficulty in having to play the roles of both imaginary characters, they found these elicitation tasks to be very demanding. For example, a DC(A) originally contained 20 dialogue items and a DC(B) included 30 dialogue items. It was decided later to shorten all DCs so as not to defy the concentration of the informants who contributed on a voluntary basis. Oliver (1997: 37) stipulates that ethnographers should not take the liberty to assume that the informants will share their interest and enthusiasm about the research results.

The second pilot test contained two versions of DCs, which were structured differently. After comparing both completed versions (one systematically ordered (such as with compliment DCs, situations 1-4 between status equal friends, situations 5-8 from clerks to bosses) and the other randomised) of all DCs, I noticed that the change of format produced differing responses, with those from the randomised questionnaires being more varied in terms of length, vocabulary and grammatical structures. With regard to the systematic version, the problem could have been that some informants lost their motivation in giving responses on four successive dialogue items on the same topic and role relationships. As a consequence, they copied the answers given in subsequent situations directly onto the next situations without realising that the details of these adjacent dialogue items had been modified (cf. 3.3.2). With the second investigation, 120 questionnaires were distributed to

four undergraduate classes at Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London. The subjects were asked to complete the questionnaires during their classes or to take them back home to work on. It was disappointing that, out of the 120 questionnaires that were given out, only 27 were returned. Even then, not all were completed appropriately.

4.1.2.2 *Final Distributions of DCs*

The final versions of English DCs were randomly formatted. All imaginary characters were given FNs and LNs so that the informant could choose the address forms he/she thought to be the most appropriate. The length, number and phraseology of the dialogue items were reduced to a compromising minimum. The written role plays were also extensively revised so that the informant would not feel too burdened with the task. As stated by Eisenstein and Bodman (1986: 169), the researcher had to hope that the 'participants would write down all that they would say orally, and not to be tempted by writing fatigue or respond more tersely'.

I formulated DC(A)s for 'compliments', DC(B)s for 'apologies', and DC(C)s for 'thanks', with each of them varying both in length and in types of interpersonal relationships. Details of the organisation of each DC are as follows:

1. DC(A) contains 12 dialogue items on four compliment-inducing attributes (new hair style, exceptional ability in interior design, exquisite watch and cheerful character);
2. DC(B) consists of 18 dialogue items on six apology-inducing offences (bumping into someone, interruption of talk, being late, broken spectacles, burping and unfulfilled responsibility);
3. DC(C) is made up of 15 dialogue items on four thanks-inducing favours (keeping a door open for someone, invitation to dinner, offer of present, distribution of conference programme and inquiry about health).

This serves as a baseline for the dialogue items, on which I thus drew a distinction of the relationship between both characters. The questionnaires represent dyadic conversations, consistent with one level of the 'social distance' variable (between distance-neutral speakers – or friends, non-strangers and non-intimates only) and three levels of the 'power status' variable (between status equals and between status unequals (i.e. from a social inferior to his/her superior and vice versa). In other words, the DCs were to examine the power parameter to the full.

For fear that relatively few questionnaires would be returned, I decided to try another target group of informants. I gave the DCs (in the final versions) to readers in several College Libraries of the University of London, to complete until I achieved 20 copies of each questionnaire. To start with, I introduced myself as a research student and then explained what I was asking of them. Most people I selected to speak to looked bored with their reading and mentioned that they did not mind having a short break. After some explanation, I

instructed them that the questionnaires would be collected in 30 minutes' time. This method proved to be quite useful, since the fact that the consent asked for was given indicated their genuinely voluntary co-operation to my project. Only a very small number of questionnaires were not completed and simply left on the desks.

With regard to the Thai questionnaires, all three sets of DCs were translated into Thai from the final English versions, with alterations of personal names and minor situational details to suit Thai culture. As an illustration, an English dialogue item was intended to elicit an apology from a man to a Catholic priest in front of a church; but since Buddhism is the main religion of Thailand (Mulder, 1996), I felt it was necessary for the apology to be directed at a Buddhist monk in a temple setting in the Thai DC(B). Social variables that were to be compared with the British written data set remained intact. Several willing friends of mine and the undergraduate students at Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok, completed 20 copies of each DC, all of which were properly filled in and returned.

CHAPTER 5[1]

The Speech Act of Complimenting

5.1 Preliminary Considerations

Since compliments are used in many speech communities, it is not surprising to see that every language has terms equivalent to 'giving compliments' and 'offering praises' in English. Nuances in meaning do exist, and utterances that are regarded as compliments in one culture may not be so in another. For instance, in Indonesia, a remark on the purchase of a sewing machine is complimentary to the person who bought it. In Japan, a neutral allusion on gold earrings can make the person wearing them feel flattered. In China, mentioning that someone has a big family is laudatory. English speakers perhaps need to make some effort in order to work out how these utterances can constitute compliments in Oriental languages (Wolfson, 1981a). The sociocultural rules of respective speech communities need to be described before outsiders can appreciate the differing systems of values.

Linguistic investigations into the speech act of complimenting were initially made in American society (for instance, Turner and Edgley, 1974; Wolfson, 1981a). This later became a popular research topic in several other societies. It was repeatedly found that most compliments were made up of predictable structures – a fact that is not confined to English alone, as in European languages such as Finnish (Ylänne-McEwen, 1993) and Polish (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989), these speech acts were also restricted to ritualised formulae. Research series by Nelson et al. (1993, 1996) have shown that Egyptian, Iranian, and Jordanian Arabic compliments consisted of positively evaluative adjectives in very similar ways as in English. However, compliments in Arabic were more long-winded, with more similes, metaphors, proverbs and repetitions of comparable concepts with lexical alterations (Nelson et al., 1993: 300).

The frequency of American English compliments has been the target of criticism by speakers of other varieties of English (Holmes and Brown, 1987) and non-native visitors to the USA alike (Wolfson, 1981a). Herbert and Straight (1989) discovered a remarkable difference in the distribution of American and South African compliments. South Africans were struck by the obsequiousness and seeming hypocrisy of Americans on the grounds of the latter's repetitive production of compliments. On the contrary, Americans viewed South Africans as unappreciative and smug; not only did they offer fewer compliments than average Americans thought they should, they accepted compliments more readily than

[1] This chapter is based on the paper I presented at the Sociolinguistics Symposium 2000 (Intachakra, 2000).

Americans felt was suitable. The ubiquity of American compliments is attributable to the beliefs of mutual worth and equality, that is, one must constantly seek to sustain warm feelings and positive attitudes, and express mutual agreement when necessary. In white South African society, conversely, the ideologies of inequality and elitism prevail. While refraining from complimenting others but being very willing to accept compliments, South Africans hold others at bay and indulge in the view that whoever receives a praise is socially superior. According to Jaworski (1995: 69), compliments are no more than tokens of solidarity for Americans, whereas South Africans take them to be factual statements of admiration.

As cultural outsiders to mainstream American culture, Arabs were reported as not being impressed by (American) English compliment giving (Nelson et al., 1996). One gruesome aspect of offering praise in most Arabic cultures is the belief in the 'evil eye': 'that someone can cause harm by looking at a person or a person's property' (Nelson et al., 1993: 297). A congratulatory comment on a newborn baby worries the mother that malicious spirits would take it away; she would, as a result, hasten to pray to Allah to give protection to the child. An even more unfortunate incident was an actual story in which a British person expressed their admiration for a Jordanian friend who had just bought a new car. The friend had a serious car accident two weeks later; believing that his injury was caused by the malice of the evil eye, he declined to remain friends with the complimenter (Nelson et al., 1993: 298). Holmes and Brown (1987) mention that Indonesian and Malaysian students in the USA sometimes did not understand why Americans used compliments so frequently. The Indonesians commented that compliments were hardly used back home, especially among non-city-dwellers and those unaccustomed to Western civilisations (Wolfson, 1981a).

Within a universal perspective, it has been variously suggested that the attribute that is praised most frequently is 'personal appearance'. Nevertheless, this term may not mean the same thing across cultural lines. In American society, personal appearance symbolises the looks (e.g. new hairdos and weight loss) that someone has invested time and deliberate effort on (Manes, 1983). By contrast, Arabic-speaking people would compliment one another more on 'natural attractiveness' of the eyes, face and skin – the very attributes that Manes (1983: 99) says should be avoided in the USA. Nelson et al. (1993: 311) argue that, as a general rule, Arabs would treasure a person's inner qualities rather than what he/she achieves through deliberate effort. Americans (especially women) will almost automatically compliment each other after acquiring new looks and possessions, or having been successful in their jobs. Manes (1983) reports cases where American women felt hurt when others had failed to notice the change of their hair styles or weight loss. This is in contrast to Yang's (1987: 24) affirmation that appearance compliments were not so frequent in China, where performance and skilfulness are more important attributes. Appearance compliments should

be treated with caution when a Chinese and an American person interact, because there are cultural differences in what constitutes a person's self-image. 'Being plump' signifies happiness and well-being in China. So a compliment from a cultural outsider on the slim figure of a Chinese female may be taken as an insult, since this implies that the complimentee is poor and has not enough to eat (see also 5.3.2.3). In American culture, the identical compliment would certainly bring a few smiles to the face of the addressee. Another controversial case showing Americans' easiness with compliments (on ability) is recorded in Wolfson (1981a: 123): an American diplomat visiting France was condemned by the French press for intruding in the country's internal affairs, simply because he complimented a French politician on his job well done.

Another cross-culturally regular compliment topic relates to 'personal possessions' (Manes, 1983; Wolfson, 1983a, Jaworski, 1995). Acquisitions of new belongings are much talked about in the USA as well as in Poland. However, the value of newness is based on culture-specific assumptions. American society is connected with a 'consumer-market' economy whereby people are encouraged to get rid of old things and buy new ones. Manes (1983: 101) notes that 'we [Americans] encourage ourselves and one another by giving credit through compliments for new acquisitions'. The same explanation is less applicable to a country like Poland (Herbert, 1991; Jaworski, 1995), where new possessions connote an achievement, not the procurement of easily available products. Particularly owing to the scarcity of consumer goods during the periods of their data collection, both scholars found that new possessions were valued more than anything else in this society. As Jaworski (1995: 79) puts it, 'compliments in Poland (before 1989) provided a system of mutual support in people's continuing efforts to obtain various material goods which were not easily accessible due to shortages on the market and high black-market prices'. In such a time of need, the congratulatory function of possession compliments predominates over its solidarity-marking function (Jaworski, ibid.).

Empirical research has attested that most English speakers responded to compliments by either agreeing with the complimenters or by denigrating the force of the praise (Pomerantz, 1978; Holmes, 1988a, Herbert, 1989; Chen, 1993, among others). Ylänne-McEwen (1993) found that Finns' compliment responding strategies conformed neatly to those of English speakers, where both tended to accept praise. Similarly, Valdés and Pino (1981) report that most Mexican Spanish compliment responses clustered around the accept category. Lorenzo-Dus (2001) concludes that, when compared to their British fellows, Spanish speakers were less inclined to compliment others, and that Spanish compliment responses were sometimes accompanied by 'ironic upgrades' (i.e. requests for repetition and expansion of compliments), which were interpreted by English speakers as arrogant demeanour. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989) investigated compliments in Polish

and stated that the most preferred compliment responses were the downgrading (acceptance) type. The further we move geographically towards the East, the more we find compliment responding strategies deviating from Western models. In China (Chen, 1993) and in Malaysia (Azman, 1986, quoted in Holmes, 1988a: 504), compliments were more regularly rejected than accepted (cf. Spencer-Oatey et al., 2000). It has been postulated that the maxim of modesty supersedes the maxim of agreement (Leech, 1983) in these countries. In other words, the preferences of acting humbly and denigrating oneself are valued more by Chinese and Malaysians than by most Westerners.

5.2 Defining Compliments

Compliments have received substantial interest from researchers, though not to the same extent as requests and apologies (see Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Sifianou, 1992; Geis and Harlow, 1996). As we have seen in 2.1.1, identified by Searle (1976) as expressive speech acts, compliments are a means by which to get things done through the act of speaking (Austin, 1962). The speech act of complimenting is intended to convey interpersonal attitudes and emotions between speakers; for example, a person may feel flattered, exhilarated, embarrassed, or even threatened on receiving – if not accepting – a compliment.

For an utterance to count as a compliment, certain conditions must be satisfied. In terms of IFIDs, it seems that 'I COMPLIMENT you...' or 'I PRAISE you...' are possible in principle, but these structures were not found in the natural data of this corpus. Even if they were, they would perhaps come across as rather stilted (cf. Searle; 1976: 12). Wierzbicka (1991a: 136-139) proposes that compliments involve not only the speaker saying something good about the hearer, but also his/her recognition that what the hearer did or has is good (cf. Pomerantz, 1978: 107). On similar lines, Holmes (1988a: 485) defines a compliment as 'a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some "good" [...] which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer'. This precisely shows that compliments are a prime example of a 'positive politeness' strategy.

Following these definitions, we can also consider compliments in terms of their degree of directness. 'Direct compliments' take the form of pre-patterned grammatical and lexical formulae (see table 5.1), and their meanings are understood literally (Cordella et al., 1995: 235), as in examples 1 and 2.

Example 1
Two colleagues walking past each other in their office.
A: That's nice aftershave you're wearing today. Is there a special occasion?
B: No, I didn't realise it was so strong [looked embarrassed].

Example 2
A TV presenter visiting a couple in their home.
A: You've got a very nice front door there.
B: Well. It's nice, isn't it?

These examples are not ambiguous and do not contain hidden implicatures: the aftershave in example 1 smelled rather nice, and the front door in example 2 was a pleasant form and colour. On the other hand, 'indirect compliments' have less predictable structures; their meanings are decoded in terms of value judgements of the complimenters and background knowledge shared with the complimentees (Searle, 1975; Knapp et al., 1984; Cordella et al., 1995: 235; Herbert, 1991: 383).

Example 3 (from Herbert, 1991: 383).
Your husband is a very lucky man.

Example 4
A group of friends at a dinner table.
A: We've got a wine expert with us here this evening, eh?
B: [No response].

Example 5
A was the host of a talk show, while B was an actor.
A: I don't think you look 50 in that outfit, I must say.
B: [Grinned].

Examples 3, 4 and 5 could be rendered in the structures typical of direct compliments without a change in original meaning such as *your house is so neat and clean*; *the wine you chose is nice*; and *you look so young and handsome*. Herbert (1991) and Jaworski (1995) note that most publications have concentrated on direct compliments and that indirect compliments are often ambiguous relative to direct ones, particularly when the dialogue involves several turns and/or several speakers. Considering the felicity conditions, we see, for instance, that the compliment in example 3 is not to be given to a female whose house is in a mess; the one in example 4 not to a non-drinker; or the one in example 5 not to someone in their twenties. Additionally, it may also require general world knowledge to properly understand whether an utterance is praiseworthy. Compliments must be given in an appropriate context of speaking in order to be heard as such. The indirect compliment *you've worked with Elizabeth Taylor!* (Boyle, 2000) would not be complimentary to those who are not aware of this celebrity, and to replace her with an unknown person's name would produce a similar effect (i.e. the utterance would not be interpreted as a compliment).

It should be borne in mind that some utterances that sound like compliments do not signify a positive evaluation, but rather sarcasm, criticism or admonishment[2] (Wolfson, 1983a: 92), as in example 6. I chose not to include it in my analysis.

[2] Nelson et al. (1996) admit that *show off macho!* may be perceived as a 'criticism', but it is in fact a 'positive remark' among US male students who use it as a compliment on each other's ability in playing some sports.

Example 6
Two friends at lunch. A had been to get some more soft drinks.
A: I like it so much – the way you put so much pepper into my food [looking disgruntled].
B: [Chuckled].

Example 7
A regular customer and his launderette caretaker.
A: Did I fold them all right?
B: Perfect.

Example 8
At a listening booth at Our Price (music shop).
A: This song's nice. I think I'll get this one [CD].
B: Let me see.

Furthermore, mere responses to questions (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989) on solicited or 'forced' compliments) as in example 7, and praises or simple positive remarks directed towards a third party, or towards attributes not related to the complimentees (example 8) were also not incorporated in the corpus sample (see also Herbert, 1991: 383).

Two major purposes of this study have been to undertake a quantitative analysis of British English and Thai compliments, and then to contrast them with the findings from previous studies (which have relied heavily on direct compliments). Therefore, for this study to lend itself as a useful contrastive one, it was decided that the data used in my discussions would consist mostly of direct compliments. Although I acknowledge an important call made by Herbert (1991), Jaworski (1995) and Boyle (2000) that variation in both direct and indirect compliments should be studied in tandem, I shall give more priority to direct compliments, while having recourse to indirect compliments wherever necessary.

5.3 Observational Findings

Conversational interactions are governed by rules and follow different types of discourse-organising patterns. The ability we have in talking about things often reflects the fact that we have heard this done by others before and, consequently, apply suitable words, conventions and idiomatic expressions to meet our own communicative goals (Aijmer, 1996: 10). We are capable of predicting how people would talk and react verbally in a given speech situation. The assumption that when two people meet, they have a tendency to use 'greetings', and when they part, they are likely to exchange 'farewell expressions' is unequivocally justified. Studies into this topic have been undertaken for several decades, initiated by scholars such as Ferguson (1976) and Coulmas (1981). More recently, defining them as 'phrases which, as a result of recurrence, have become specialized or 'entrenched' for a discourse function which predominates over or replaces the literal referential meaning', Aijmer (1996: 11) calls these speech features 'conversational routines'. The routine *how are you?* is a typical greeting ritual in English. When someone hears it, they should not see it as a request for information and give a detailed explanation. With the routine *see you later*, which operates as a farewell

expression, the speaker does not necessarily always expect to see the hearer again, nor should the hearer feel disappointed if this were the case.

The concept of conversational routines is consistent with compliments. As we have seen, compliments have been an infamous source of cross-cultural misunderstandings and have been studied from both intralanguage and interlanguage perspectives (Wolfson, 1981b; Herbert and Straight, 1989; Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, 1989; Chen, 1993; Ylänne-McEwen, 1993). Wolfson, the major authority in this field, seemed not very delighted when she wrote about the management of compliments in American English (Wolfson, 1981a). Time and time again, she received discouraging comments and complaints from non-native speakers about the excessive use of some American speech routines that led the learners to form many negative stereotypes (e.g. insincerity and untruthfulness) about American people (see also Thomas, 1983; Wolfson, 1983a). From a different angle, she also reported a similar type of dismay amongst native speakers who had believed that sincere compliments must sound original (Wolfson, 1989: 221). To their surprise, both herself and her American students discovered that not only compliments, but also many of their other interactional events (including greetings, thanks and apologies) that they had collected consisted of no more than repetitive formulae and hackneyed expressions (Manes and Wolfson, 1981).

Numerous studies have indicated that compliments occur with regular formulaicity and could be described as having 'total lack of originality' in terms of syntax and as carrying a 'weak semantic load' in relation to the positive evaluation of addressees (Wolfson, 1983a (American English); Holmes, 1988a (New Zealand English); Herbert and Straight, 1989 (American and South African English); and Cordella et al., 1995 (Australian English)).[3] As illustrated in table 5.1, Manes and Wolfson (1981) and Wolfson (1983) discovered nine regular patterns of English compliments with the majority of those gathered by fieldnotes fitting patterns 1 (53.6%), 2 (16.1%) and 3 (14.9%). Their compliment findings can also be interpreted in terms of limited sets of lexical selection. Adjectives with a very general meaning (e.g. *nice, good, beautiful, pretty, great*), the verbs LIKE and LOVE, the adverb *well*, and nouns indicating positive evaluation such as *angel* and *genius* were most consistently found in their corpora. Holmes (1988a) undertook a comparative study of New Zealand compliments (though she was comfortable with only four patterns). She speculates that, overall, the same syntactic patterns that apply to 82.6% of the American data are representative of 78% of her New Zealand data. She further located a sub-pattern of pattern 1

[3] Herbert and Straight (1989) and Cordella et al. (1995) did not commit themselves to compliment formulaicity in their varieties of English, so it is not clear whether their data are comparable to those representative of the US and NZ studies. However, the fact that these last two sets of findings coincide so neatly with one another (Wolfson, 1989) and that the patterns of compliment responses discussed by Pomerantz (1978), Holmes (1988a) and Herbert and Straight (1989) are so highly mutually convergent leads me to I hypothesise that AUS and SA compliments may be formed in the same way as those that appeared in US and NZ data.

('BE looking', as in *you're looking terrific*), which she describes as a distinctively New Zealand syntactic variant. As for the lexicon, she added the adjective *neat* to Wolfson's list and notes that the verbs LIKE and LOVE occurred in 90% of her compliments that make use of verbs.

Table 5.1 Syntactic Patterns of English Compliments

Patterns	Examples
1. NP BE/LOOK (really) ADJ	*Your hair looks nice.*
2. I (really) LIKE/LOVE NP	*I love your hair.*
3. PRO BE (really) (a) ADJ NP	*That is a nice car.*
4. You V (a) (really) ADJ NP	*You did a good job.*
5. You V (NP) (really) ADV	*You really handled that situation well.*
6. You HAVE (a) (really) ADJ NP	*You have such a wonderful flat.*
7. What (a) ADJ NP	*What a lovely garden you have!*
8. ADJ NP	*Nice watch!*
9. Isn't NP ADJ	*Isn't your house lovely!*

The similarities of syntax and lexicon in the compliments from Manes and Wolfson's, Wolfson's and Holmes's corpora are extremely striking. Wolfson (1989: 225) has acknowledged that Holmes's findings are highly convergent with hers on virtually every level of analysis. This shows that compliments are realised in very much the same manner in the USA as in New Zealand. We shall see below that most aspects of these findings are generalisable for Britain as well.

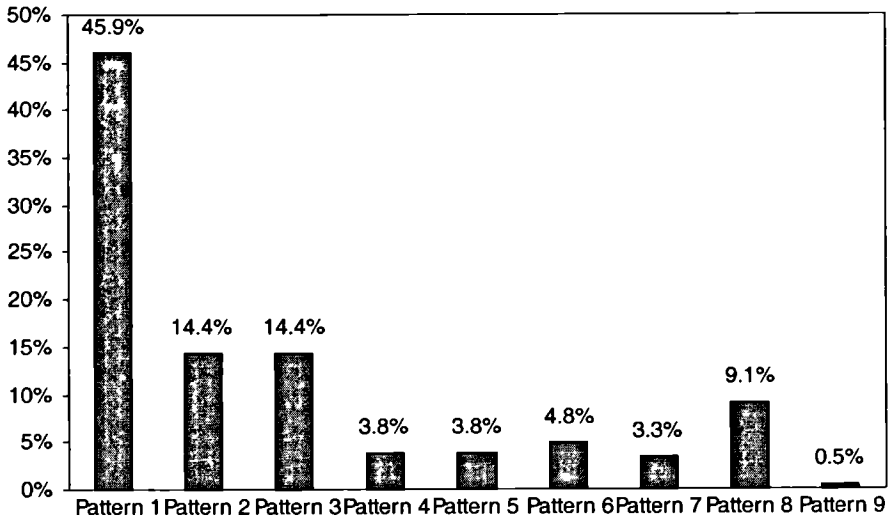
5.3.1 Compliments in British English

5.3.1.1 Compliment Structures

Although there exists a handful of research into compliments in several varieties of English, as far as I know, none has devoted attention to a full-scale and systematic observation of compliment exchanges in British English (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, 1989; Ylänne-McEwen, 1993). The fieldnote data form the basis for my discussions on British English compliments and of a comparative analysis with previous projects. All 232 compliment exchanges were analysed for syntactic patterns. Among these exchanges, I was able to identify 275 individual compliments in the following categories: 209 are direct compliments, 44 are direct compliments with single adjectives (e.g. *nice* or *good*) or the expression *well done*, and 22 are indirect compliments. My findings that correspond to nine types of direct compliment (according to Wolfson's patterns) are illustrated in figure 5.1. Nearly half of all compliments occurred in pattern 1 (96 instances or 45.9%), as in example 9. The frequency distribution plummets for the remaining structures. The second most common compliments fall into pattern 2 (example 10) and pattern 3 (example 1), representing 30 instances (14.4%) each. The next most frequent compliments are in pattern 8 (19 instances or 9.1%) (example

11). Compliments in typical 'addressee-oriented' structures were not found frequently, that is pattern 4 (8 instances or 3.8%), pattern 5 (8 instances or 3.8%) and pattern 6 (10 instances or 4.8%). Compliments in patterns 7 and 9, which have to do with rhetorical devices, featured very infrequently.

Figure 5.1 Compliment Patterns in British English



Example 9
Two flatmates in their kitchen.
A: Your cooking smells nice.
B: Oh, thank you.

Example 10
Two friends in a pub.
A: I like the tattoo on your shoulder. What's the symbol for?
B: I've no idea. I had it done for 15 pounds.

Example 11
In a camera shop, B took a camera out of his bag for repair.
A: Nice camera.
B: [No response].

Compliments can also be classified by semantic categories into: adjectival compliments, verbal compliments, adverbial compliments and compliments with positive evaluative nouns. Of the vast number of adjectives connoting a positive impression, some were found in the comparative form (e.g. *better*), but all are discussed in the base form (e.g. *good*). Their implications range from a 'general' positive value (e.g. *nice*, *good*, *smart*), 'topic specific' (e.g. *right*, *soft*, *delicious*) and 'very expressive' (e.g. *fantastic*, *gorgeous*, *marvellous*) (Manes and Wolfson, 1981: 117). Within this corpus, there emerged a total of 47 different adjectives; the most frequent ones are *nice*, *good*, *beautiful*, *lovely*, *great* and *wonderful*, covering around three-fourths of the occurrence of all adjectives. Table 5.2 shows the 16 most regularly occurring adjectives. The remaining adjectives, with one occurrence each are: *new*, *alright*, *radiant*, *right*, *charming*, *real*, *cosy*, *soft*, *sensuous*, *terrific*, *neat*, *incredible*, *comfortable*, *healthy*, *photographic*, *young*, *muscular*, *affectionate*, *fabulous*,

confident, sexy, trendy, interesting, amazing, phenomenal, unbelievable, funky, not bad, highly respected, well-groomed and *well-charmed.*

Table 5.2 Top 16 Adjectives in British English Compliments

Adjectives	N=
1. Nice	49
2. Good	19
3. Beautiful	16
4. Lovely	16
5. Great	14
6. Wonderful	14
7. Excellent	10
8. Smart	6
9. Gorgeous	5
10. Fantastic	5
11. Cool	5
12. Sweet	5
13. Kind	4
14. Brilliant	3
15. Perfect	2
16. Delicious	2

My findings concerning regularities in pattern and in choice of adjectives parallel what other researchers have reported, though in a slightly different order. Despite the presence of many different adjectives, the number of semantically positive verbs found in my corpus is more limited. Five verbs of liking that represent 30 occurrences of the verbal compliments were found: LIKE (19 instances), ENJOY (4 instances), LOVE (3 instances), BE IMPRESSED *by/with* (3 instances) and BE PLEASED *with* (1 instance). Example 12 shows an instance of the verb BE IMPRESSED *by/with.*

Example 12
A was amazed by his friend's (B) answer during an informal quiz.
A: Hmm. Geoffrey Chaucer! I'm very impressed with your knowledge of literature.
B: [Smiled].

Example 13
A was chatting with his female friend in the kitchen.
A: That was really, really, really lovely. You're a good cook. I could marry you.
B: Oh, thanks. But I've just followed the instructions and used a bit of imagination.

It should be noted that the verb HAVE was found not only in this common form but also in other forms, for example, the typical British variant HAVE GOT or its shortened derivative GOT (see Swan, 1995) (as in example 2). With regard to positively attributive adverbs, my findings yielded 10 examples of *well* and one example for each of the following adverbs: *beautifully, nicely, fluently, absolutely* and *highly.* Several intensifiers were also encountered: *very* (31 instances), *really* (17 instances), *so* (6 instances), *such* (3 instances) and *indeed* (1 instance). Example 13 illustrates the multiple use of the intensifier *really.* Sometimes the praiseworthy hearers were equated with something or someone admirable;

thus the presence of three metaphorically positive nouns *star* (2 instances), *dream come true* (1 instance) and *expert* (1 instance) (as in example 4).

5.3.1.2 Compliment Functions

In a theoretical light, compliments are among the politeness strategies that run against Grice's (1975) CP maxims, especially the maxim of quantity (i.e. avoid digressions) and the maxim of quality (i.e. avoid stating things with no firm evidence or that are untruthful) (see 2.1.2). In example 14, we are aware that speaker A thought that the rucksack was new and found out later that it had been bought a while ago.

Example 14
Two colleagues waiting for the train.
A: Is it your new one? Quite nice.
B: Hmm... I've been using it for a while though. You haven't noticed?

But did he truthfully perceive that the rucksack was new or did speaker A merely feel the need to create small talk with his colleague on a deserted train platform? We do not know whether that rucksack was really that 'nice', as much as we do not know in what way it was considered 'nice'. I have discussed in 5.3.1.1 that most compliments make use of lexical items with no substantial meaning and that can be used as a reference to almost anything positive (Wolfson, 1984). Compliments are a very safe subject of conversation.

Several researchers argue that compliments generally serve a social (interpersonal) function rather than a referential (ideational) function, and that they do not convey much constructive information apart from 'oiling the social wheels' (Holmes, 1988a) and establishing solidarity (Wolfson, 1983a; Holmes, 1992, 1995). Wolfson (1984: 238-239) states that 'these expressions of admiration, approval, and encouragement function as social strategies across social groupings'. Being 'positively affective politeness devices' (Holmes, 1988a; Brown and Levinson, 1987), compliments anoint the hearer's positive face, since they indicate not only that his/her wants to be liked and admired are being recognised by the speaker, but also that due attention is given to him/her (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 101). This strengthens even further the solidarity that already exists.

From a discourse-organising viewpoint, compliments help facilitate the flow of talk (see Cordella et al., 1995; Aijmer, 1996). My findings tend to be in agreement with Manes and Wolfson's (1981) statement that compliments can occur at any point in conversation to serve this purpose. Found at the beginning of discourse, the compliment in example 2 was selected to redress the potential threat to the hearer's negative face (i.e. that their privacy was about to be intruded) by seeking to create a friendly atmosphere prior to a television interview. Examples 15 and 16 are of a similar nature; their occurrences played up the illocutionary force of the greeting routines, while at the same time put on view the fact that

the speakers had paid attention to the changes made to the hearers' appearance. Holmes (1988a: 499) is accurate in stating that when people compliment on appearance, they tend to do it as a preface to their conversation; failing which the later in conversation the compliment occurs, the greater the chance that the hearer would assume that their looks were not good enough to deserve notice beforehand (cf. 3.3.1). The compliments in examples 15 and 16 could have totally different effects on the hearers were they to take place elsewhere in the conversations.

Example 15
A was greeted by B, a barman, at a restaurant where he was a regular customer.
A: Hi, it's nice to see you again. You're looking very smart.
B: You're looking smart, too.

Example 16
A was meeting up with her aunt in a department store.
A: Oh, hi! How are you? You look great.
B: [Smiled and hugged A].

Example 17
DJ complimenting a female contestant in a singing competition.
A: You sang very well. Nice.
B: Thank you.

Example 18
Head chef complimenting his male contestant at the end of a cooking programme.
A: Very good, my darling, very good.
B: You sure?

Further, although the compliments in examples 17 and 18 simply mark the end of conversation, they also fulfil an additional function: the solidarity and good companionship that have been created and maintained so far should continue.

Compliments are multi-functional; they can be used alongside or even as substitutes for other speech acts (see 8.1). In examples 19 and 20, compliments can function as expressions of gratitude, apart from being expressions that show admiration. The compliment said by speaker B in example 21 functions as a booster to the hearer's low self-confidence, whereas the one said by speaker A in example 22 fulfils the illocutionary force of re-establishing an endangered friendship (see Wolfson, 1983a).

Example 19
Father and son after finishing cutting grass in the lawn.
A: You've done a good job, haven't you?
B: [No response].

Example 20
After a holiday, B met up with A and gave her a present.
A: Oh, thank you. It's lovely. I'll treasure it.
B: That's OK.

Example 21
Two female friends before going clubbing.
A: I look frumpy in this dress.
B: Don't be silly, sweetie. You look beautiful.

Example 22
Boyfriend teasing his girlfriend after a minor quarrel.
A: You know, darling, you're beautiful when you're angry.
B: No.

Example 23
Shop assistant and her customer.
A: Those jeans look great on you. How many pairs would you like?
B: Well, I'm not sure if I would like any.

Example 24
Another shop assistant and her customer.
A: That's a nice jacket you have. But maybe you would like a warmer one.
B: No, I'm fine. Thanks. I'm not feeling rich today.

Compliments were used regularly by shopkeepers in business transactions in order to manipulate the clients to buy, as in example 23; in example 24 the compliment additionally softens a mild criticism (see Wolfson, 1983a).

There is another category of utterances that are intended as compliments by the speakers, but can be taken differently by the hearers. Compliments require a certain degree of familiarity between speakers in order to be heard and interpreted as such. We have seen that, in most cases, compliments breed feelings of warmth and solidarity, but there are occasions when compliments may sound 'essentially' intimidating; for example, they may function as verbal harassment, as in example 25

Example 25 (adapted from Holmes, 1995: 121)
A man on building site to a young woman passing by.
A: Wow, what legs! What are you doing with them tonight, sweetie?

Praising those we do not know well would not be so awkward if the attribute in example 25 were not something private or obscene. An instance like this is what Kissling (1991) calls a 'stranger compliment' or 'street remark'. What made it sound so intimidating is that both parties were total strangers, and their conversation was not expected to take place at all. Displeasure befell the woman whom the remark was directed at. This suggests perhaps that most females, despite being aware of their inferior status relative to males, do not want to fall victim when members of the opposite gender subject them to such treatment (see further in 5.3.1.5).

Example 26
A teenage girl in the group of her friends commenting on the behind of a man passing by.
A: A nice treat you have there. Sweet buns!
B: [No response].

Example 27
A teasing his male friend in front of his girlfriend in the privacy of his home.
A: Ooh, nice legs.
B: [No response].

Very interestingly, however, the element of verbal harassment is somehow much less strong when a stranger compliment was given from a female person to a male passer-by, as illustrated in example 26. Also in example 27 where I was a third party, the compliment did

not invoke offence owing to everyone being good friends. Holliday (2000), on her interviews with street remarkers in the construction industry in Newcastle, reports that the workers did not view their comments as always addressee-oriented. Instead, they claimed the function of their remarks as a game or a way of passing the time for the benefit of their companions or co-workers, rather than of the recipient.

Depending on interpretations, some compliments can be described as having further detrimental implicatures, acting as a double-edged sword (Holmes, 1995). According to this view, these compliments are potentially FTAs, in that they express envy or desire for the hearers' possessions. The interchange in example 28 is Holmes's (1988a, 1995) selected illustration of this argument.

> **Example 28** (adapted from Holmes, 1988a: 487)
> *Pakeha* (New Zealander of European descent) *woman to Samoan friend whom she was visiting.*
> A: What an unusual necklace! It's beautiful.
> B: Please take it.

She states that, on the one hand, the compliment was an FTA to speaker A, in that it caused an embarrassment to her positive face when she was only trying to be friendly and not wanting to be offered the object of admiration; and on the other hand, the same compliment threatened speaker B's negative face, because it forced her to give up the necklace. This is a sweeping inference, although it depicts so well some of the problems of applying politeness theory to all speech events.[4] The three-fold pragmatic criterion (Searle, 1976; Leech, 1983) offers a more sensible explanation in this case (see 2.1.1). Although what speaker A said (locutionary act) may, in some way, indicate her desire to possess the necklace (illocutionary force), it is unlikely that this would necessitate her to take it nor would it oblige speaker B to concede her ornament literally (perlocutionary effect). Moreover, if it turned out that speaker B had similar necklaces in abundance, or that she did not think of them as having a high monetary value to the extent that she could give them away easily (e.g. if they were made of seashells or stones, not of pearls), the compliment should not have been taken as an FTA. Holmes did not go far enough to disambiguate whether this interchange could arouse such critical consequences among friends. Both speakers surely intended to maintain solidarity rather than to harm each other with subtle strategic intent. For one thing, my understanding is that speaker A uttered her praise only because this was her strategy for opening a conversation in English (similar to examples 15 and 16). Holmes hints that, by conceding her necklace, speaker B was merely conforming to a Samoan social norm ('be generous' to a

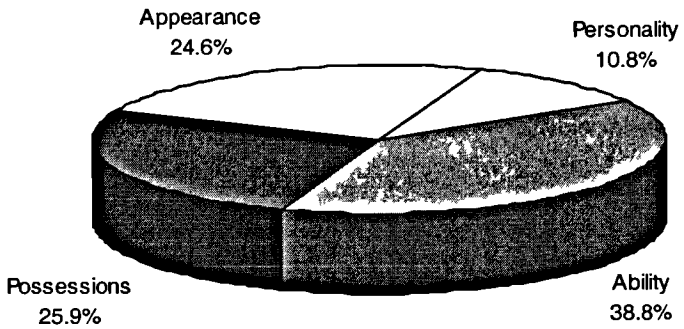
[4] Brown and Levinson (1987) is regarded by several academics as a counter-intuitive treatment of verbal strategies (see 2.2.3). Kuiper (1991) is an example of a small-scale research project the outcome of which impoverishes the notion of FTAs in many respects. Kuiper has found that 'verbal insults' between volleyball players did not cause a loss of face, but promoted in-group solidarity among team mates.

visitor?) and that speaker A was 'very embarrassed' by the offer.[5] In my estimation, it is only the cultural ethos of both speakers that made this interchange sound so face-threatening. Put differently, it could be that some cultures do not have the concept that requires people to give up their belongings just like that, and this may explain why and how a Westerner had an impression that this kind of remark would pose a threat. More importantly, if Holmes's focus was strictly on 'intracultural' complimenting behaviour among New Zealand English speakers, this 'intercultural' interchange (example 28) is only a mediocre illustration. I do not perceive the classification of compliment functions according to the notion of FTA as always very useful.

5.3.1.3 Compliment Topics

The distribution of compliments can be categorised on the basis of what people hold dear. As mentioned in 4.1.2.2, compliments typically occur on restricted topics in conversation. Wolfson (1983a) distinguished compliments on two broad topics: appearance and ability. Barnlund and Araki (1985) proposed five topics: appearance, personal trait, work/study, skill, and taste. However, Holmes (1988a, 1995) suggests that her four topics suffice to represent most samples of English compliments.

Figure 5.2 Topics of British English Compliments



I regard Holmes's model as being very comprehensive and have adopted it in my own work. Her classifications are: 'appearance' (e.g. good looks, beautiful skin), 'ability/performance' (e.g. pay rise, passing an exam), 'possessions' (e.g. expensive belongings/obedient child), 'personality/friendship' (e.g. generosity, honesty). The American and New Zealand corpora by Holmes and Wolfson point to the very evenly distributed frequency of compliments on appearance (in comparison to other topics).

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[5] In Nelson et al. (1993: 298), an Arabic-speaking person was complimented on his necktie by a friend who was the party host. The complimentee removed the tie and insisted that the friend take it. The complimenter kept refusing until he found the tie on his sofa the following day. In my view, the authors did not appear to think of this as an FTA enactment, but only attempted to show the possible ramifications of compliments in an Arabic culture.

All 232 compliment exchanges in my British corpus can be appropriately grouped into one of these four types: 90 ability compliments (38.8%), 60 possession compliments (25.9%), 57 appearance compliments (24.6%) and 25 personality compliments (10.8%), as illustrated in figure 5.2. Personality compliments were the most rarely found in all previous studies, and in fact, I had hypothesised that these compliments were probably infrequent, because they would be given indirectly. This idea was disproved, since in my natural British data, not a single personality compliment was produced indirectly: example 29 shows a direct example.

It is not always easy to identify the topic due to the fuzziness of situations, but this problem can be alleviated by considering the compliments in their contextual environments and, if available, with the responses provided by the hearers (Leech, 1983). Consider examples 30 and 31.

Example 29
Daughter to her mother on the latter saving up some money to buy her a present.
A: You're really sweet, mum. Really kind.
B: [No response].

Example 30
During the Style Challenge programme. A was a guest of the show and B, the fashion designer.
A: These boots are very comfortable.
B: They're nice, aren't they?

Example 31
Two acquaintances at a concert hall.
A: Your jacket suits the ambience very well.
B: Absolutely, my dear. I've got red, green ... ooh, just every colour. [long pause] Thank you.

Of course, no one knows for certain what attributes were being praised, since the intentions or the emotions of the people involved in these transactions were not always known (see Graddol et al., 1994). While possessions could be a reasonable guess in example 30, I would suggest that this interchange was more clearly about ability/performance. From what I could gather from observing this TV programme from beginning to end, speaker B spent a good few minutes selecting the clothes that she thought would make speaker A look her best. Example 31 also offers a few different possibilities (e.g. physical appearance vs. ability in choosing a matching outfit to the ambience). I subsumed this interchange under the possession category, given B's reply *I've got red, green ...*, in which the verb HAVE GOT specified her possession of many other dresses.

5.3.1.4 Interpersonal Relationships in Compliments

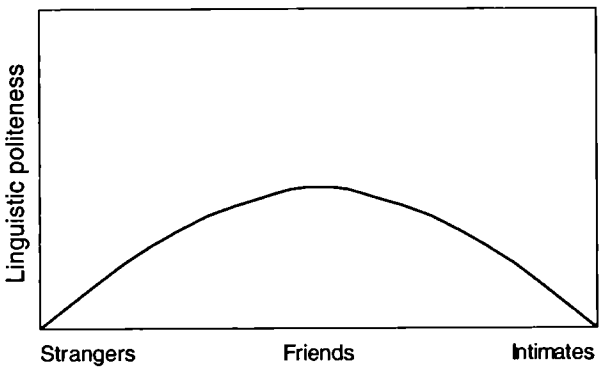
Compliments usually ameliorate rather than play havoc with the interlocutors' relationships. From this, one might like to look at how the 'social distance' and 'power status' variables

(Brown and Levinson, 1987) play their roles in compliment realisation. Wolfson (1988: 32) describes the effect of social distance on her compliment samples as follows:

> 'when we examine ways in which speech acts [such as compliments] are realized in actual everyday speech, and when we compare these behaviors in terms of the social relationships of the interlocutors, we find again and again that the two extremes of social distance—minimum and maximum—seem to call forth very similar behavior, while relationships which are more toward the center show marked difference'.

According to her findings, friends (including acquaintances and colleagues) gave and received compliments more often than intimates or strangers. She coined this distribution 'the Bulge' on the basis of the high frequencies of compliments between friends featured at the centre of her scoring chart (where intimates are placed on one end and strangers on the other) (see figure 5.3).

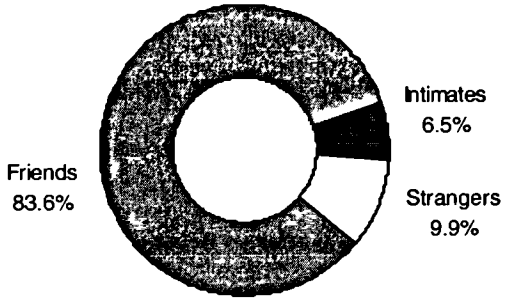
Figure 5.3 Wolfson's Bulge Diagram



She further explains that, due to so much social mobility in the cosmopolitan areas where her data were obtained, the degree of familiarity pre-determined the choice of speech forms. The more social distance is seen as fixed, the easier it is for speakers to know what to expect of each other (Wolfson, 1988: 33). Having quite unambiguous relationships, intimates, on the one hand, and strangers, on the other hand, know where they stand in their social networks; if they want to be brief or prefer not to say or do something, they will. This is unlike friends and colleagues whose relationships are often ambiguous and subject to constant re-definition; maintaining and negotiating the smoothness of interpersonal solidarity, for them, is an important aim.

Earlier researchers found distributions in their data that support the Bulge hypothesis (for example, Holmes, 1988a; Herbert, 1991; Cordella et al., 1995). My own British data are no exception either, in particular considering that friends were responsible for more than three quarters of my compliment data. All 232 exchanges were classified into three categories: 193 between friends, colleagues and acquaintances (83.6%), 15 between intimates and family members (6.5%), and 24 between absolute strangers (9.9%). Examples 32 and 33 illustrate compliments between absolute strangers.

Figure 5.4 Social Distance in British English Compliments



As figure 5.4 shows, interactants whose degree of intimacy was not located around the centre of the Bulge did not compliment each other as regularly as friends did. A point that I think needs to be considered is whether these speakers really did not feel an urge to use compliments and, if so, why. In examples 32 and 33, compliments given by strangers caused embarrassment and were less than welcomed.

Example 32
A old female passer-by complimenting a cat belonging to a young man in front of his house.
A: Oh, what a lovely cat! Unbelievable!
B: Come on in [said to the cat].

Example 33
A drunken man complimenting a woman sitting opposite him on the train.
A: That's a fantastic case [guitar case]. You must be a very good guitarist.
B: [Looked puzzled and glanced at other passengers].

Judging from their abrupt reactions to the well-wishers, the recipients obviously found these positive comments inappropriate, owing to their relationships as strangers in the absolute sense. Unlike street remarks discussed in 5.3.1.2, examples 32 and 33 are not indicative of verbal harassment. What both examples seem to have in common is the general wisdom that, in spite of our goodwill, it is more discrete to compliment people whom we know to a fair extent rather than to force solidarity on others and risk irritating them.

Cordella et al. (1995) make a conjecture that compliments between family members are generally not intended to establish friendship, but rather to express love and affection. As I understand it, although intimates and family members may not always live in the same household, they keep in touch often enough to converse on a regular basis. But the reason why complimenting behaviour is not regular among intimates has not been fully clarified by researchers. Chaika (1989: 129) touched slightly upon this issue. She reckons that, in most circumstances, intimate compliments do not take place, because they imply the strategic intent of complimenters to gain some favour from the complimentees. She also speculates that compliments from family members and siblings are commonly responded to with *OK. What do you want?* It makes sense to take stock of Wolfson's (1988) explanation that the relative absence of intimate compliments exists simply because people in this relationship

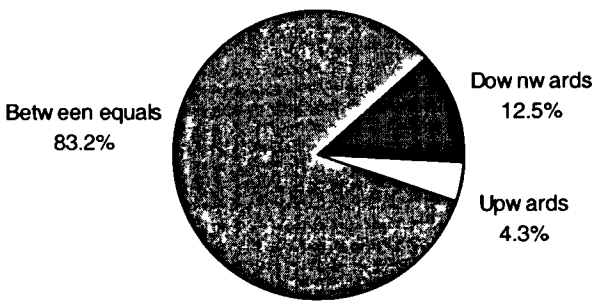
know each other so well that they find no necessity to use praise constantly. If lack of mutual attention would affect their bond, they would remain intimates anyway (particularly true with genetic family members). From a methodological viewpoint, my experience as an observer is that intimate conversations may have involved a taboo subject such that the researcher feels too awkward to report what was heard. For instance, I was once within earshot of a dialogue between a young couple next door in which the boyfriend's praise for his girlfriend was extremely pornographic. For ethical reasons, I dared not include this interchange in my corpus.

Another important facet of interpersonal relationships in compliments is the relative 'power status' among interlocutors. Wolfson (1983a: 91) says that 'the overwhelming majority of all compliments are given to people of the same age and status as the speaker' and that '[most] compliments which occur in interactions between status unequals are given by the person in the higher position'. Her analysis is a crucial one, but it does not provide frequencies of distribution. In my corpus, most compliments (193 out of 232) were heard in conversations involving status equals (83.2%); in interactions involving individuals with social status imbalance, 10 (4.3%) were given by people with lower status (examples 23 and 24) and 29 (12.5%) by people with higher status (example 34).

Example 34
A lecturer complimenting her student after hearing that the latter finishing writing his essay.
A: Seems like you have many great ideas.
B: Thank you.

My finding coincides proportionately with Holmes's (1995). The numbers of upward and downward compliments from British English compliments cluster around a relatively similar range, as shown in figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5 Power Status in British English Compliments



An encounter between status unequals is an interesting issue, in that it can shed further light on what rights and restrictions people should consider in complimenting behaviour. Tannen (1986: 85) suggests that compliments downwards are usually innocuous, since they imply that the complimenters are in a superior position and possess the prerogative (either by profession or by authority) to make judgements. Not only was example 34 appropriate, it

seemed to be highly expected by the hearer: this compliment was implicitly intended to motivate the hearer to keep up the good work (Manes, 1983; Holmes, 1988a; Wolfson, 1983a). On the other hand, compliments upwards are to be treated cautiously 'presumably to counteract the possibility of a negative interpretation, such as that the complimenter is manipulating or flattering the addressee' (Holmes; 1988a: 497). Complimenting someone socially above oneself is sometimes taken as having no element of sincerity, as it may be viewed as tantamount to 'social lies' or an indirect way of soliciting advantage (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989; Coleman and Kay, 1981). The interchange in example 29 caused no harm when the daughter complimented her mother for kindness. However, in examples 23 and 24, the compliments uttered by shop assistants clearly correspond to the speculation that some compliments may be uttered with ulterior motives. In a hypothetical scenario, a boss meeting his secretary arriving late at work is not likely to think of her following utterance to be sincere: *John, you look terrific today. Can I get you a nice cup of tea?* On the contrary, he will probably think that she is only attempting to avoid being admonished for her bad time-keeping.

5.3.1.5 Gender Variation in Compliments

Compliments and gender issues have been quite a long-established subject of studies by researchers in English-speaking communities. Two common questions have been to see how compliments are perceived by and employed among women and men, and to ultimately generalise about which group is the most polite. Many have come to a conclusion in favour of the female informants; women were found to predominate over men in virtually all types of compliment distribution (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1988b; Herbert, 1990). It was also concluded that, taking most things into consideration, women are more polite than men.

According to the literature, women, in general, perceive compliments as having a primary function of 'positively affective speech acts' to show solidarity (positive politeness). By contrast, men tend to use them more for imparting information; or when they avoid using them, it is normally indicative of their unconscious effort to refrain from uttering potential FTAs (negative politeness) (Holmes, 1995: 123, 126). Men feel that unwarranted compliments could equate with patronising strategies that other male complimenters use to belittle them. In other words, the production of compliments is encouraged among women, rather than men. Holmes's (1995) findings show very marked differences in the production of compliments by women and men, and are very consistent with these hypotheses. However, gender variation in my corpus is not as great as that found in previous projects, so it is very difficult to say whether compliments by women and men in the British corpus would have similar implications (see below).

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Table 5.3 gives three sets of figures for comparative purposes. Data from New Zealand (Holmes, 1988b) and American corpora (Herbert, 1990) show that compliments were most frequently heard between women and least frequently heard between men. The findings from my British project resemble those others, in that the most frequent compliments were given between women (65 instances or 28%). Gender variation in compliments outside F-F interactions is quantitatively not great.

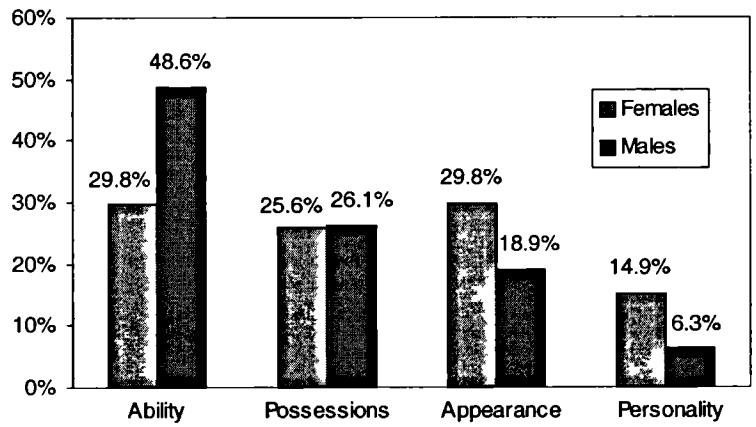
Table 5.3 Gender Distribution in British English Compliments

Gender Types	Britain	New Zealand	USA
F-F	**65 (28%)**	248 (51.2%)	330 (31.1%)
F-M	**56 (24.1%)**	80 (16.5%)	246 (23.2%)
M-F	**54 (23.3%)**	112 (23.1%)	258 (24.3%)
M-M	**57 (24.6%)**	44 (9%)	228 (21.5%)
Total	**232 (100%)**	484 (100%)	1062 (100%)

Compliments given by men to men were the second group of most frequent occurrence (57 instances or 24.6%), followed extremely closely by praises from women to men (56 instances or 24.1%) and men to women (54 instances or 23.3%).

Several studies have suggested that compliment distribution can be explored further in search of other implications. To meet this end, I analysed the gender distribution of compliments according to topics of praise. Figure 5.6 illustrates the variation between women and men in their own gender groups, as complimenters.

Figure 5.6 Compliments by Gender and Topics



It turned out that the most regular topic (ability) was used more by men (54 instances or 48.6%) than by women (36 instances or 29.8%) ($\chi^2 = 8.7$, $p = 0.0031$). This is in line with Holmes's findings on the point that men value achievement and success more than women. Compliments on the second most frequent topic (possessions) were used more or less equally by both men (29 instances or 26.1%) and women (31 instances or 25.6%); however, the frequencies representing this topic fail to reach statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 0.007$, $p = 0.92$).

Appearance compliments were more cherished by women. Parallel to what Holmes (1995) discovered, women in my corpus (36 instances or 29.8%) used compliments more often than men (21 instances or 18.9%) on physical attractiveness ($\chi^2 = 3.66$, $p = 0.05$). Holmes mentions that it is dangerous for men to compliment their fellow men on this topic, since that would be an FTA suggesting male homosexuality. Nevertheless, I think that, to be accurate, an analysis must take account of the relevant factors such as the context of speaking, the interactants' relationships and the presence of an audience. Example 27 is a case in point. Having an attractive part of the body indicates that the utterance in example 27 is complimentary. It must be said, though, that this compliment did not seem to be taken as an FTA either by the speaker or the hearer. The presence of a female person probably rescued those present from forming a poorly founded inference. The same explanation also applies to example 35, where a big majority of the audience were females.

Example 35
One member of a group of male TV interviewers complimenting B, a football player, on some photos B took of himself during a recent tournament.
A: That's very nice looks.
B: [No response].

The least frequent topic (personality) was deployed more by females (18 instances or 14.9%) rather than males (7 instances or 6.3%) ($\chi^2 = 4.42$, $p = 0.03$). This lends support to my hypothesis that, for women, personality as well as appearance are two attributes that are positively valued, and that men may recognise these compliments as potentially face-threatening.

We can also consider structural features of compliments to ascertain which ones represent usages typical of women or men. In her New Zealand corpus, Holmes (1988b) found that compliment pattern 7 (e.g. *what a beautiful ring you have!*) was a regular female usage, while pattern 8 (e.g. *nice sunglasses!*) was a male-preferential strategy. Examples of compliments belonging to pattern 7 in my corpus were uttered almost exclusively by women (6 of 7 exchanges), but those in pattern 8 were used with similar frequencies by people of both genders. Based on her evidence, Holmes (1995: 126-127) proposes that women tend to amplify the force of their utterances as part of their politeness enactment, whereas men reduce it to a minimum as part of their endeavour to be most informative. The intensifying intonation accompanying pattern 7 would make the significance of the exclamation and function of this emphatic device even more distinctive. Herbert (1990: 203-205) suggests a similar line of thought: 'personal focus' (i.e. the use of first, second or third person as an agent of complimenting) offers another interpretative dimension to gender distinctions. His analysis has revealed that women in his corpus were prone to personalise their compliments (e.g. I *love your stew*; your *hair looks great*), whereas men did not (e.g. their preference for single-adjective compliments of pattern 8). My findings support this proposition quite well,

though incongruities were also observed, specifically for the fact that similar numbers of men and women were found (in cross-gender and same-gender interactions) using the minimal patterns *lovely!* (M-F), *nice shoes!* (M-M) and *perfect nipples!* (F-M).

5.3.1.6 Responding to Compliments

Compliment interchanges can be separated into two parts (provided the second one is discernible). Scholars have suggested that the ways in which people 'reciprocate' compliments can be studied independently, like the various strategies that they can use to 'offer' compliments (see for instance, Turner and Edgley, 1974; Pomerantz, 1978; Herbert, 1986; Herbert and Straight (1989) and Holmes, 1995).

Compliments are attributable to the goodwill of the person who gives them, and a simple *thank you* (or another equivalent variant) is a sufficient acknowledgement (Herbert, 1986), as in example 36 (see 7.1).

Example 36
A female TV presenter complimenting a male show guest.
A: You look well-groomed.
B: Thank you.

A gratitude expression can tell us a great deal about whether an utterance is a compliment or only a positive remark (example 8). Given good faith, people say *thank you* when they receive a 'compliment', whereas they would not do so after hearing a 'positive remark', because the credit is not directed to them, but to others (Herbert, 1991).

Although parents and caretakers in English-speaking communities try their best to familiarise their young children with routinised expressions such as greetings, conversation closings and expressions of gratitude, it appears that saying *thank you* after receiving material gifts or 'verbal gifts' is, by far, a most difficult communicative skill to acquire (Turner and Edgley, 1974; Grief and Gleason, 1980; Becker and Smenner, 1986), as in example 19. It is ironic that speech acts such as requests and arguments, which children were often found to perform so well, do not have to be relentlessly taught (Sifianou, 1992). One may recall that English etiquette books often register prescriptive norms about the most correct ways to respond to compliments. Some important precepts are: 'establish an agreement with the complimenter', 'be appreciative', and 'don't put yourself down' (Herbert, 1986; Herbert and Straight, 1989). Pomerantz (1978) says that these pieces of advice are apt to fall on deaf ears since, in her study, the informants did not always adhere to these expectations. Rather, 'a large proportion of compliment responses [in American English] deviate from the model response of accepting compliments' by means of an expression of gratitude (Pomerantz, 1978: 81).

According to Pomerantz, compliments and responses to them can be considered as 'action chain events' or 'adjacency pairs' – just like in normal dialogues, the speaker says something and the hearer gives feedback to it. Responses can either be 'preferred' or 'dispreferred' seconds. She further brings to our attention the two dilemmas of responding to compliments:

Principle 1: Avoid self-praise
Principle 2: Agree with others.

When one accepts a compliment, one praises oneself (whether knowingly or not) and violates principle 1. On the other hand, if one rejects the compliment, one runs into disagreement with the complimenter, and thus violates principle 2. In other words, it is impossible to avoid self-praise without having to disagree with the complimenter at the same time.

Example 37
Two colleagues meeting in a pub.
A: You've got a sexy jacket on, Jane.
B: Nah, it's just an old one.

Seen from a slightly different perspective, Holmes (1988a) states that our choice of compliment responding is governed by two of Leech's (1983) maxims of politeness: the maxim of agreement and the maxim of modesty (see 2.1.4). The effect of the first maxim (e.g. concurring with the complimenter) is self-explanatory. But it is more likely that the undertone of the second maxim (and the need to be realistic, perhaps) is so influential that the responder sometimes self-denigrates or even challenges the complimenter, as example 37 shows.

In the literature, different researchers have categorised compliment responses in a variety of ways. Pomerantz (1978) and Herbert (1989) divided these into three response types (acceptances, rejections and self-praise avoidance mechanisms), with a further seven sub-types. Herbert and Straight's (1989) three compliment response types (accepting, deflating and questioning) were conceived together with 12 sub-types. With my data, I have followed the response types (also 12 in number) proposed by Holmes, since they appeared to be more easily identifiable (for discussion, see Holmes, 1988a). Her response types are shown in table 5.4. Although I had the initial impression that compliment responses would not be difficult to analyse, it later turned out that they were extremely elusive to group into categories, in particular when the replies concerned utterances that rejected or evaded the kind words. Researchers must take the utmost care to be systematic and consistent in grouping their responses. To illustrate, classifying responses according to the accept type is quite an unambiguous business (as in example 36) (Holmes, 1988a: 492).

Table 5.4 Holmes's Response Types

Response Types	Examples
A. ACCEPT	
A1 Appreciation/agreement token	*Yes*; gratitude expressions; a smile
A2 Agreeing utterance (only)	*I know; I think so, too.*
A3 Downgrading/qualifying utterance	*It's not too bad, is it?*
A4 Return compliment	*You're looking smart, too.*
B. REJECT	
B1 Disagreeing utterance	*I don't think I look different in any way.*
B2 Question accuracy	*Is beautiful the right word?*
B3 Challenge sincerity	*You don't really mean it.*
C. DEFLECT/EVADE	
C1 Shift credit	*I borrowed it from my brother.*
C2 Informative comment	*That's from America. Things are so cheap over there.*
C3 Ignore	No response or sudden change of subject
C4 Legitimate evasion	Any response given to the question (or to query) following the compliment, not to the compliment itself, as in examples 23 and 38.
C5 Request reassurance	*Do you really think so?*

It is hardly an issue to distinguish which response type is being used when the responders feel grateful or appreciative (e.g. even though they choose to return the compliment, it does not mean that they do not feel flattered).

Example 38
A was visiting B's house for the first time after refurbishment.
A: My God, Hugh. This is beautiful. It must have cost you a fortune.
B: You'll be surprised how little it all cost.

Nevertheless, example 38 provides two possible response types: the A3 sub-type (downgrading utterance) and the C2 sub-type (informative comment). With further thought, one will realise that what speaker B uttered would be better described in the light of the C4 sub-type (legitimate evasion). This classification accords with what Holmes (1988a: 493) explains: '[there are cases] where the complimenter provides the addressee with an out by following the compliment with another utterance which permits the recipient to avoid responding to it'.

Studies on compliment responses have been undertaken in many English-speaking countries, and my corpus contributes findings from British English speakers (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989). In table 5.5, I have summarised the results from four different projects, including my own. There are only minimal differences in compliment reciprocity in the 'Englishes' of Britain, New Zealand, the USA and South Africa. The accept type was the most preferred strategy in responding to compliments for the New Zealanders (61.1%), as it was for the Americans (43%) and the South Africans (78%). However, strategies of the accept and evade types in my British corpus were almost equally

frequent (48.2% and 47.9%); but considering their sub-types, it is clear that the A1 sub-type was used most regularly in British English (40.1%).

Table 5.5 Categorisations of British, NZ, US and SA English Compliment Responses[6]

Response Types	Britain		New Zealand		USA		South Africa	
	N=	(%)	N=	(%)	N=	(%)	N=	(%)
A1	**93**	**(40.1)**	73	(15.3)	312	(29.4)	162	(32.86)
A2	**14**	**(6)**	157	(32.8)	70	(6.6)	213	(43.2)
A3	**1**	**(0.4)**	44	(9.2)	N/A		N/A	
A4	**4**	**(1.7)**	18	(3.8)	77	(7.25)	12	(2.43)
(Sub-total)	**(112)**	**(48.2)**	(292)	(61.1)	459	(43)	387	(78)
B1	**8**	**(3.4)**	32	(6.7)	101	(9.98)	—	
B2	**1**	**(0.4)**	12	(2.5)	N/A		N/A	
B3	—		4	(0.8)	N/A		N/A	
(Sub-total)	**(9)**	**(3.8)**	(48)	(10)	(101)	(9.98)	(N/A)	
C1	**2**	**(0.9)**	6	(1.3)	32	(3.01)	23	(4.67)
C2	**15**	**(6.5)**	42	(8.8)	205	(19.3)	24	(4.87)
C3	**74**	**(31.9)**	16	(3.3)	54	(5.08)	1	(0.2)
C4	**12**	**(5.2)**	50	(10.4)	N/A		N/A	
C5	**8**	**(3.4)**	24	(5.0)	53	(4.99)	9	(1.83)
(Sub-total)	**(111)**	**(47.9)**	(138)	(28.8)	344	(32.3)	57	(11.5)
Other	—		—		158	(14.8)	48	(9.75)
Total	**232**	**(100)**	478	(100)	1062	(100)	492	(100)

This is consistent with the doctrine (albeit perhaps more typical of American society) that a compliment must be received 'gracefully' (Pomerantz, 1978; Herbert, 1986). Furthermore, the figures show that the next most frequent strategy used by my informants was the C3 sub-type in the deflect/evade type (31.9%). On the one hand, it could be said that the British subjects demonstrated a high tendency to think positively about the force of compliments, which led them to agree verbally by means of gratitude expressions or non-verbally by smiles. On the other hand, they also displayed a considerable likeliness to deflect the given credit and sometimes attributed it to something or someone else. This indicates that British people conformed quite consistently to the conflicting principles of Pomerantz (maybe subconsciously), unlike the informants in other studies who accepted compliments much more readily and evaded them much less frequently (see Spencer-Oatey et al., 2000). 'Ignoring' by not saying anything (C3 sub-type) does not always signal that the subjects deliberately chose not to listen to the praise or that they felt too awkward. There is a good chance that the subjects may have perceived certain compliments to be trivial, both by virtue

[6] The terminologies used by Holmes and Herbert (as well as Herbert and Straight) on their response types do not match neatly with one another. I have compared the labels and contents of both data sets, and grouped them along the lines that Holmes (particularly, 1988a) suggests. (N.B. 'long dash' (—) indicates that a response type was not found in that particular corpus; 'N/A' indicates non-compatibility of data, according to Holmes's (1988a) response types.)

of their weak illocutionary force (e.g. compliments with minimal elements) and the complex structure of the on-going conversation (e.g. speech events with considerable turn-taking and/or co-occurrences of many speech acts).

Example 39
Two friends at a weekend party. A, the host, was female and B was male.
A: The meal was excellent.
B: Oh, it was nothing.

The reject type was the least frequently used (only 3.8% on the whole) in my study and the other earlier three studies. Holmes (1988a: 494) offers a noteworthy speculation, which also explains my finding: 'the implication is that modesty prevents the recipient's accepting the compliment yet the recipient does not wish to reject it outright' (see also 2.1.4). Responses of this kind were rarely heard in the British data. Example 39 is one of them.

5.3.2 Compliments in Thai

Since the initial stages of the preparation of this study, I formed several hypotheses, using my intuitions as a native speaker of Thai. It was thought that the Thais would be likely to view compliments in a negative light (as having an insincere element) to the extent that these speech acts would be used only very sporadically in Thai culture. It was also assumed that, contrary to findings from other studies, Thai compliments may not have regular syntactic patterns or lexical items. In terms of interpersonal relationships, my assumption was that compliments may not be heard much in conversations involving strangers and people of unequal status. Another speculation was that Thai women would represent the gender group that produces more compliments. Since most English compliments were accepted, I guessed that Thai compliment responses would be welcomed with more rejections – a strategy which is intertwined with the cultural value of 'modesty' of most Oriental speech communities.

5.3.2.1 Structures of Thai Compliments

An agenda was initially prepared to analyse my Thai data in the light of Wolfson's syntactic patterns, but several attempts were met with failures. Although English and Thai share the same basic syntax as SVO languages (Palikupt, 1983), the similarity does not seem to go much further than that (see also Noss, 1964). Problems in translatability made it impossible to apply the nine regular English compliment patterns. It was possible, however, to categorise the compliments into another set of regular patterns. This analysis is based on the hypothesis that, in general, both British and Thai people regard compliments as speech acts that indicate that the speakers admire something good about the hearers and want to make this evident (see 5.1).

After analysing 186 exchanges in Thai, I identified 211 individual compliments (194 were given directly, 5 were in other structures and 12 were uttered indirectly) and discovered that there are four regular structural patterns associated with Thai compliments.

Table 5.6 Four Patterns of Thai Compliments[7]

Patterns	N=
1. 1.1 NP/PRO ADJ (really) e.g. *naarikaa sŭaj dii* ('Your watch is very nice')	85 (43.8%)
1.2 ADJ (really) e.g. *ruaj caŋ* ('You're so rich')	60 (30.9%)
2. 2.1 thammaj ('why') NP/PRO ADJ (really) e.g. *thammaj kèŋ caŋ* ('How clever you are!')	3 (1.5%)
2.2 thammaj ('why') ADJ (really) e.g. *thammaj cajdii jàaŋŋíi* ('You're really kind')	15 (7.7%)
3. (PRO) V ADV (really) e.g. *thəə rɔ́ɔŋphleeŋ phrɔ́ dii* ('You sang very well')	21 (10.8%)
4. (I) chɔ̂ɔb ('LIKE')/prathábcaj ('BE IMPRESSED *by*') NP (really) e.g. *chɔ̂ɔb pàagkaa níi mâag ləəj* ('I like your pen')	10 (5.2%)
Total	**194 (100%)**

Table 5.6 shows the total of 194 direct compliments that fall neatly into these four patterns. Pattern 1 is divided into the two sub-patterns. Sub-pattern 1.1 occurred 85 times (43.8%), reminding us of Wolfson's first pattern ('NP BE/LOOK (really) ADJ'). Sometimes Thai noun phrases (NPs) are much longer than English ones (i.e. English NPs may include only second-person pronouns (*you*) or demonstrative pronouns (*this* or *that*)). Surrounding grammatical units may make sub-pattern 1.1 look confusing, but the core structure is easily recognised as in example 40. Sub-pattern 1.2 occurred 60 times (30.9%); it consists of a positive adjective and (but not always) an intensifier (e.g. *sŭaj dii* (ADJ plus 'really')). This is very similar to sub-pattern 1.1, except that there is no NP in that particular clause. Pattern 2 is also divided into sub-patterns 2.1 (3 times or 1.5%) and sub-pattern 2.2 (15 times or 7.7%). Sub-pattern 2.1 comprises *thammaj* ('why'), followed by either patterns 1.1 or 1.2, as in example 41. Like English *what* (as in *what a nice car!*), the interrogative pronoun

[7] Only the first turn of a Thai compliment exchange is discussed; the second part is included when a reference to a compliment response is necessary. The data are first given in English transliteration, followed by word-for-word gloss and then free translation. It should be noted that, in general conversations, personal pronouns in Thai are sometimes omitted when they are used as the subjects of sentences. The copula BE (e.g. *pen, jùu, khyy*) and verbs of sensory perception (e.g. *duu* 'LOOK') are also mostly omitted. Some adjectives and adverbs can have the same form (e.g. *sŭaj* can either mean 'beautiful' or 'beautifully'). Moreover, adjectives, adverbs and intensifiers can also have the same form sometimes (e.g. *dii* can mean 'good', 'well' and 'very'). In the line immediately below the transliteration, I use 'really' technically to represent any Thai words used as boosting intensifiers with meanings equivalent to *really, very, extremely* or the like. Thai words used as adverbs are specified according to their functions, not their forms (e.g. *kèŋ* and *dii* are for English *well*). Note also that there is no inflection in Thai verbs.

thammaj ('why') does not function as a question marker, but as a rhetorical device indicating surprise or disbelief. Sub-pattern 2.2 is a combination of *thammaj* and sub-pattern 1.2, without an NP nor a mention of the positive attribute. Compliments in pattern 3 featured 21 times (10.8%), echoing most elements of Wolfson's fourth and fifth patterns (example 42). There are 10 instances (5.2%) of compliments in pattern 4, an exact equivalent of Wolfson's second pattern (as in example 43).

Example 40
Two female friends at lunch break.
A: naarikaa sŭaj dii/ sýy maa càag nǎj rə̌ə/
watch beautiful really/ BUY COME from where SFP$^{2.2}$/
A: 'Your watch is very beautiful. Where did you buy it from'?

Example 41
A seeing a lot of banknotes in her female friend's purse.
A: thammaj lɔ̀n ruaj caŋ/
why you rich really/
A: 'You are so rich'!

Example 42
A visiting her friend's room.
A: chán wâa thə̀ə càd hɔ̂ŋ dii mâag lə̀əj/
I THINK you ARRANGE room well really SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'I think your room is very well arranged'.

Example 43
A complimenting his senior friend. Both are males.
A: chɔ̂ɔb sŷanǎaw khɔ̌ɔŋ phîi dom caŋ lə̀əj/
LIKE jumper GEN older sibling NN really SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'I like your jumper a lot, Dom'.

Example 44
A complimenting his junior colleague.
A: phîinɔ́ɔŋ bâan níi còb parin'jaathoo kanmɔ̀d lə̀əj ná/
sibling house this GRADUATE master's degree all SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'Everyone [siblings] in your family has master's degrees'.

Example 45
A colleague complimenting his junior male colleague.
A: hǒo/ sàj liiwaaj hâasŭunnɤ̀ŋ dûaj ná nja/
INT/ WEAR Levi's 501 also SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'Wow, you're wearing a Levi's 501 jeans also'.

There is not a large number of Thai compliments in other less predictable structures (5 instances). Some compliments were uttered indirectly (12 instances), as in example 44 and 45.

Considering lexical elements, there are 64 separate positively affective adjectives in direct and indirect compliments in Thai. We have seen in the British data that the most frequent adjective *nice* has a weak semantic load, which can be used to describe just about anything positive – someone's looks, weather conditions or ability. The adjective *good* may come in the second place, but its sense appears to be less ambiguous than *nice*. *Beautiful* is

used to praise someone's appearance as well as to comment on the tastefulness of food. Thai adjectives, on the contrary, have more specific meanings.

Table 5.7 Top 10 Adjectives in Thai Compliments

Adjectives	N=
1. *sŭaj* ('beautiful')	34
2. *kèŋ* ('clever', 'talented')	18
3. *dii* ('good')	15
4. *ʔarɔ̀j* ('delicious')	12
5. *lɔ̀ɔ* ('handsome')	8
6. *jîam* ('excellent')	5
7. *ruaj* ('rich')	3
8. *nâarág* ('pretty', 'cute')	2
9. *khăaw* ('white')	2
10. *cĕŋ* (slang for 'good')	2

Table 5.7 exhibits the most frequently occurring adjectives in Thai compliments. It seems that there is hardly any chance for an all-comprehensive positive adjective like *nice* to be used in Thai. The most frequently found adjective *sŭaj* (34 instances) can be used only to describe a person or a visual object, as in example 40. In contrast to English, neither a song nor food can be considered *sŭaj* in Thai, in that there are specific adjectives to say that a tune is pleasant-sounding and a meal is palatable. The second most frequent adjective in Thai compliments was *kèŋ* (18 instances), followed by *dii* (15 instances), *ʔarɔ̀j* (12 instances) and *lɔ̀ɔ* (8 instances). The adjective *kèŋ* depicts a clever person, *not* a clever plan. The meaning of *dii* is not as broad as English *good*; for example, in Thai, food can be *dii* and *sŭaj*, but to emphasise that it is 'tasty', the adjective *ʔarɔ̀j* must be used. The adjective *lɔ̀ɔ* is for portraying a handsome male person, *not* a handsome salary.

With regard to non-adjectival features, my study shows that there is only a limited number of verbs of liking in Thai compliments, owing to the rare occurrence of compliments in pattern 4, which has this type of verb as its core constituent. There are six examples of the verb *chɔ̂ɔb* ('LIKE'), one of the verb *prathâbcaj* ('BE IMPRESSED *by*') and one of the verb *thŷŋ* ('BE AMAZED *by*'). Not a single occurrence of the verb *rág* ('LOVE'), common in English compliments, was found. Example 43 is a compliment with the verb *chɔ̂ɔb*. Intensifiers and adverbs were found consistently. The most frequent intensifiers are *caŋ* (49 instances), *dii* (40 instances), *mâag* (21 instances) and *ciŋciŋ* (4 instances). In all 18 instances of compliments in sub-patterns 2.1 and 2.2 alone, *caŋ* was used as often as 18 times (as in example 41). It is interesting to note that repetition of an adjective, one after the

other, increases the semantic significance of the combination; thus the adjective *sŭaj* ('beautiful') will mean 'very beautiful' when repeated (*súaj sŭaj*). Verbs and adverbs can also be reiterated in this way (as in examples 51 and 56). When this is called for, every first lexeme is nearly always pronounced with the high tone, regardless of its generic tone.

Example 46
TV presenter interviewing a young female actress.
A: mii khraj khəəj bɔ̀ɔg wâa nŭu sŭaj mŷaan maachâa máj/
HAVE who PST TELL that you beautiful similar FN SFP$^{2.2}$/
A: 'Has anyone ever told you that you're as beautiful as Marsha [Thai singer/actress]'?

Example 47
A hairdresser complimenting her long-lost friend.
A: mâjdâj cəə kan tâŋ lăaj pii/ kɛɛ jaŋ lɔ̀ɔ mŷaan brêd phíd
HAVE not MEET each other really several year/ you still handsome similar Brad Pitt
taamdəəm ná/
as always SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'We haven't met for so many years. You still look as handsome as Brad Pitt even now'.

There is only a limited range of positively affective adverbs in the Thai data; the most regular ones are *dii* ('well', 4 times), *sûaj* ('beautifully', 3 times), *phrɔ́* ('melodiously', 3 times), and *kèŋ* ('competently', twice). The reason why I did not come across many semantically positive adverbs could possibly be due to the scarcity of compliments in pattern 4, a major structure that requires the use of adverbs. After considering positively evaluative nouns, I found several compliments with similes that compare a person with another person (or another object) widely admired, especially in Thai society. There are 11 nouns (mainly celebrities and overseas people) consistent within this comparative device, as illustrated in examples 46 (favoured intraculturally) and 47 (favoured interculturally) (see 5.3.2.3).

5.3.2.2 Functions of Thai Compliments

We have seen that my British and Thai subjects used compliments on comparable kinds of attributes and that Thai compliments are also formulaic speech acts. This suggests an important trend for compliments to serve similar purposes for both groups of speakers; that is, to create solidarity and maintain rapport between interlocutors (Wolfson, 1983a). However, formulaicity and regularity of occurrence does not indicate that compliments perform only the 'interpersonal' (expressive) function; closer examination will reveal that they can also have to do with the 'referential' function. As an illustration, in my Thai data, the speaker may attach both expressive and referential functions to a compliment, but the hearer may choose to reflect only on the referential function, which may then contradict what the hearer him/herself perceives as being truthful. Compliments paid when there is a clash of functions would come across to the hearer as the complimenter exaggerating their

judgements (see also Jaworski, 1995: 68-74). When the hearer genuinely does not think that they deserve the praise (e.g. their looks are not good enough or their performance is not successful enough), they may be inclined to view the compliment unnecessary or dishonest, as the hearers' responses examples 48 and 49 suggest (responses are considered in more detail in 5.3.2.6).

Example 48
A male person greeting his female colleague inside their office building.
A: wannii tèŋtua sŭaj caŋ/
today DRESS beautifully really/
B: thalŷŋ/
insolent/
A: 'You are wearing very beautiful clothes today'.
B: 'You, behave'!

Example 49
A young female visiting B, an older friend in her home, catching her in the middle of cooking.
A: phîi jíb tham$^{?}$aahăan kèŋ caŋ/ pratháabcaj naj fiimyy mâag khà/
older sibling NN COOK competently really/ IMPRESS in ability really SFP^{1}/
B: pàagwăan mâag lèəj ná/ chŷa dâj máj nía/
sweet-talking really SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP$^{2.1}$/ BELIEVE able SFP$^{2.2}$ SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: ciŋciŋ/
truthful/
A: 'Jib, you seem a very good cook. I'm very impressed'.
B: 'You're such a sweet talker. How can I believe you'?
A: 'I mean it'.

For fear of confusing illocutions, the speakers may have to re-affirm the intended spontaneity in their compliments. In example 50, the speaker explicitly claimed that she did not compliment, but stated a fact.

Example 50
A visiting her younger female friend in the latter's home.
A: mâjdâj cəə căa tâŋnaan/ sŭaj khŷn penkɔɔŋ chiaw/ phĭw kɔ̂ɔ dii dii/
HAVE not MEET NN long time/ beautiful more really really/ skin also good good/
nîi phîi mâjdâj chom ná/ phûud rŷaŋciŋ/
this older sibling HAVE not COMPLIMENT SFP$^{2.1}$/ SPEAK truth
A: 'I haven't seen you for a long time, Jaa. You look much more beautiful. Your skin also looks very nice. Believe me, I'm not complimenting you. I'm stating the fact'.

Example 51
A complimenting B, her younger friend, who was showing her photo album.
A: phîi wâa cíab sŭaj mŷan daaraa khon nyŋ/
older sibling THINK NN beautiful similar actress CLS one/
B: pèəd paj rŷaj rŷaj lèəj khà/
OPEN GO continuously continuously SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP^{1}/
A: ciŋciŋ ná/
truthful SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'I think you look as beautiful as one of the actresses'.
B: 'Please look at other pages'.
A: 'I'm being honest'.

In example 51, the hearer was embarrassed by the praise and tried to direct the speaker's attention to somewhere else, but the speaker persisted (in the next turn) in confirming that her utterance was genuine. There are no instances in the British data where interactants

negotiated and clarified their sincerity in this way. A quite common practice in Thai culture is not to compliment someone when they have achieved something praiseworthy. The turn contributed by speaker C in example 52 illustrates the point that a compliment should not have been offered to B, because in her estimation, B would indulge in overt self-pride.

Example 52
A group of students after getting exam results.
A: wáaj/ kèŋ caŋ lɔ̀ɔj/ chán dâj khêɛ sìbpèɛd ʔeeŋ/
INT/ clever really SFP[2.1]/ I GET only 18 only/
B: [No response].
C: jàa paj chom man/ man jîŋ rɔ̌ɔŋ rɔ̌ɔŋ jùu/
don't GO COMPLIMENT he/ he really vain vain PROG/
A: 'Wow, you've done so well. I only got 18'.
B: [No response].
C: 'Stop complimenting him. He's already vain'.

Further, I was an observer of several circumstances when Thai compliments were conveyed to a third party (rather than to the person to whom the praise was due) to counterbalance the complimenters being regarded as too flattering and/or the complimentees as being conceited. For example, a lecturer never complimented a particular student, but instead told her colleagues about her admiration of his good discussion skills. A Thai friend of mine had no idea about what her boyfriend's parents thought of her until I relayed the message, following several visits to this family home, that they all talked very admiringly about her attributes and background. She frequented this family more often and regularly bemoaned the fact that the parents always appeared very reserved. Another Thai friend, who often visited my home, had the habit of sitting quietly, eating and leaving. Having been naturally disappointed, I was very surprised to hear from our mutual friends some time later how often he talked about my hospitality.

I would also like to touch upon other minor observations I made when watching both British and Thai cooking programmes on several occasions. An interesting point of contrast reflects British participants' comparative easiness with compliment-giving. The British hosts offered compliments profusely and at regular intervals on the contestants preparing vegetables, cutting meat, mixing sauces and so on, whereas the Thai hosts, in most cases, gave compliments *only* once the contestants had finished the whole process of cooking.

Within Brown and Levinson's framework, it makes sense to believe that, in British culture, people pay compliments to share common ground, exaggerate, be optimistic, in order to attend to the hearer's positive face wants, and those on the receiving end would tend to understand the force of the praises without much questioning. Alternatively, they use compliments even to imply something unpleasant in order to avoid overt disagreement (off-record indirectness). Thais also use compliments for similar purposes, but the compliments in examples 49 to 51 seem better explained by Grice's CP than by politeness theory; utterances made by speakers A adhered to truthfulness (maxim of quantity) and relevance

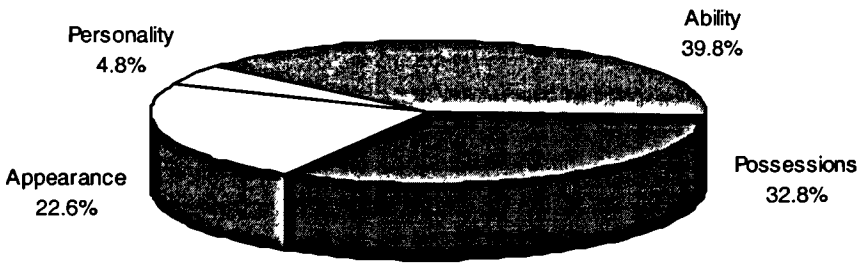
(maxim of relevance) to the situation at hand rather than to whether the speakers were being friendly (positive politeness).

Compliments can be misread in cross-cultural encounters. Based on the theoretical guidelines above, we can explain why the compliments from British people can be taken as insincere and/or unoriginal when conversing with the Thai fellows. A newly arrived Thai student in London reported receiving praises regularly by her tutors on her papers (positive politeness); she was devastated when a letter from her institution arrived some weeks later, stating that she was to be discharged from her course due to lack of progress. She could not understand how the lecturers could praise her while considering her work unsatisfactory (off-record indirectness misrepresented by the lecturer and misinterpreted by the student). A comparable anecdote involves another Thai student on a one-year course who became extremely pleased on hearing his lecturer say that his essay was *great* (positive politeness). For him, *great* was better than *good* or *fine* (which he had hoped to be the comment, at least). Assuming that his work was so well written that the lecturer took the trouble to compliment him, he felt rather disappointed to know that other classmates who obtained even lower marks also received the same or more elaborate compliments. *Great* did not mean as much as he thought after all (maxim of quality underestimated by the lecturer, but overestimated by the student).

5.3.2.3 Topics of Thai Compliments

I coded the Thai data according to compliment topics. It is very interesting to see that the frequency of distribution of compliments into four broad topics in languages and cultures so unrelated as British English and Thai would be so much in tune.

Figure 5.7 Topics of Thai Compliments



We have noted in the British data sample (see 5.3.1.3) that the most frequent topics were ability, possessions and appearance, and the least frequent one was personality. Thai compliments follow exactly the same order, as figure 5.7 shows. Examples 42 and 44 are compliments on ability (74 instances or 39.8%). Examples 40, 41, 43 and 45 are consistent with the speakers' admiration of the hearers' possessions (61 instances or 32.8%). Examples 46 and 47 are compliments signalling attractiveness (42 instances or 22.6%). Personality and

good moral character featured with the least regular frequency in my corpus (9 instances or 4.8%), as in example 53. Comparing figures 5.2 and 5.7, we can see that the similarities in the findings from my two data sets are consonant with a speculation that British and Thai subjects did not value appearance as the most significant attribute, unlike the New Zealanders, the Americans and the South Africans. However, in all these studies, it is extremely unusual for people to use compliment on benevolence, generosity or friendliness.

Example 53
A TV interviewer complimenting the manager of a business firm.
A: mɛ̌ɛ/ phanágŋaan thîi bɔɔrisàd chôogdii caŋ ləəj ná khá thîi dâj thamŋaan kàb
INT/ employees at company lucky really SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP^{1} that GET WORK with
phûubɔɔrihăan thîi mii khwaamkhâwcaj lé cajkwâaŋ jàaŋŋíi/
executive that HAVE understanding and generous like this/
B: hà/
yes/
A: 'That's right, your employees must be very lucky to work with an executive who is so understanding and generous'.
B: 'Yes'.

Compliments may have been found on the same topics and with similar frequencies in Britain and Thailand, but the precise contents of the objects of praise do not always coincide; different cultures interpret what is considered as complimentary in different ways. The most noticeable contrast between British English and Thai compliments has to do with personal appearance and the often repeated view that 'what is rare is good'. British people (i.e. Caucasians) enjoy being tanned and exposed to sunshine, whereas Thai people try their best to avoid both. For Thais, too-dark skin represents the working-class who generally labour outdoors. Given these differences, it goes without saying that British people value brown skin (cf. Holmes: 1988a), but Thai people would attach more praiseworthiness to someone having a lighter complexion (example 54). By extension, I have observed that 'being plump' is sometimes regarded a positive attribute in Thai culture, notably when the person being complimented looks worriedly thin. This is a close analogy to Chinese cultural values about looking healthy, on which Yang (1987) claims that being too thin is a sign of malnutrition or poverty. An average British person would not discuss this issue unless he/she is on very friendly terms with the complimentee, and if necessary, would rather make a brief mention of a weight loss or weight gain, without explicitly saying *fat* or *thin* (as I heard so often in Thailand). I found in my data that, besides actors and actresses, it was commonplace for Thai people to compare their fellows with overseas individuals whom they thought had enviable physical characteristics. For example, Chinese and Japanese are viewed as attractive, because they generally have fairer complexions than (ethnic) Thais (example 55). This is fairly understandable, but the fact that a great proportion of my informants were either Chinese descendants or Chinese genealogically mixed with ethnic Thais makes this observation seem quite odd.

Example 54
A teenage girl while on the bus with her male classmate.
A: duu mâj mŷan tèɛgɔ̀ɔn thîi khəəj cəə ləəj/ paj tham ʔaraj maa/ khăaw khŷn
SEEM not similar before that PST MEET SFP[2 1]/ GO DO what COME/ white more
ná/
SFP[2 1]/
A: 'You don't look like when I met you before. What did you do? You look whiter'.

Example 55
A teenage girl complimenting a young female actor during a TV show.
A: ʔôohŏo/ phîi lɔ̀ɔ mŷan nùm hɔ̂ŋkoŋ ləəj/
INT/ older sibling handsome similar lad Hong Kong SFP[2 1]/
A: 'Wow, I think you are as handsome as a Hong Kong lad'.

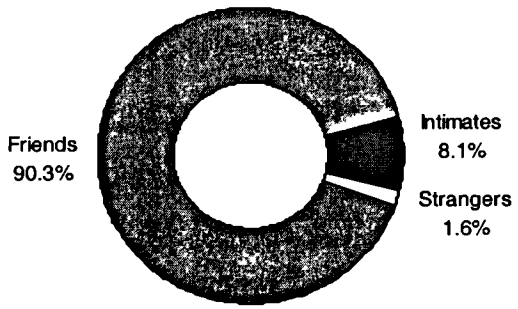
Example 56
During a meal, A complimenting B, her close male friend.
A: chán chɔ́ɔb chɔ̂ɔb camùug kɛɛ/ dòoŋ mŷan făràŋ dii/
I LIKE LIKE nose you/ elevated similar Caucasian really/
A: 'I like your nose very much. It is as distinctive as a Caucasian's'.

Having said that, such culture-specific value judgements may be more precisely rooted in the belief on the part of most Thais that some foreigners have better looks. Caucasians are not only generally taller, they also have better defined facial features (example 56). Note that only certain ethnic groups are referred to in order for a compliment to sound praiseworthy, with Eastern Asians (e.g. Japanese, Chinese) and Caucasians (commonly called *farang* in Thai) being among the most popularly accepted candidates.

5.3.2.4 Interpersonal Relationships in Thai Compliments

In terms of the social distance variable (D), my Thai data support the Bulge theory (Wolfson, 1988) and match well with the British data set.

Figure 5.8 Social Distance in Thai Compliments



As figure 5.8 indicates, compliments were nearly always uttered by friends and acquaintances. Among 186 natural compliments, 168 (90.3%) were categorised into this type. The frequency reduces very sharply in other relationships. Compliments between family members, intimates and couples were encountered rarely (15 instances or 8.1%, as in example 57), and those between absolute strangers were the most infrequently heard (3 instances or 1.6%, as in example 58).

Example 57
A teenage girl complimenting her senior male cousin.
A: phîi trii kèŋ caŋ ləəj/ rîid phâa ríab rîab/
older sibling NN clever really SFP[2.1]/ PRESS clothes neatly neatly/
A: 'Tri, you're very skilful. You're doing the ironing so neatly'.

Example 58
A middle-aged male stranger complimenting a younger male in a department store.
A: sŭuŋ chalûud dii ná/ lên báad rýplàw/
tall tall really SFP[2.1]/ PLAY basketball SFP[2 2]/
A: 'You're so tall. Do you play basketball'?

Recall that British English compliments were exchanged almost equally frequently between people other than friends; however, Thai stranger compliments being comparatively very rare suggests a cultural ethos that to compliment totally unfamiliar people is to be avoided in Thai society – more so than in Britain, perhaps.

Figure 5.9 Power Status in Thai Compliments

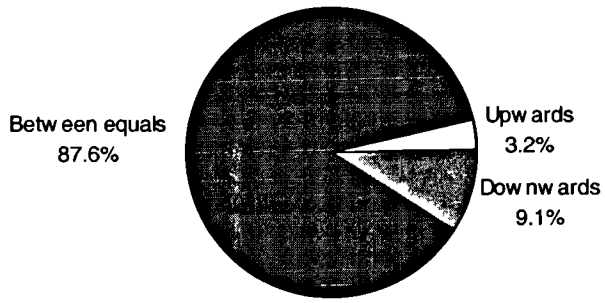


Figure 5.9 gives the results of compliments analysed in terms of the power status variable (P). It emerged that 163 instances of compliments (87.6%) were given between individuals of the same social status such as friends among whom the age difference was not great (not more than 10 years). In terms of compliments between status unequals, the pattern corresponds to the British data: people with higher status praised those socially underneath (17 instances or 9.1%, as in example 59) more often than the latter would compliment them (6 instances or 3.2%, as in example 57). Downward compliments are harmless, in that the complimenters have the authority to give comments and make evaluative remarks.

Example 59
An aunt complimenting her nephew on receiving a grant.
A: ʔaa diicaj dûaj ná/ jîam pajləəj/
auntie glad also SFP[2 1]/ excellent- really/
A: 'I'm so happy for you. You've done well'.

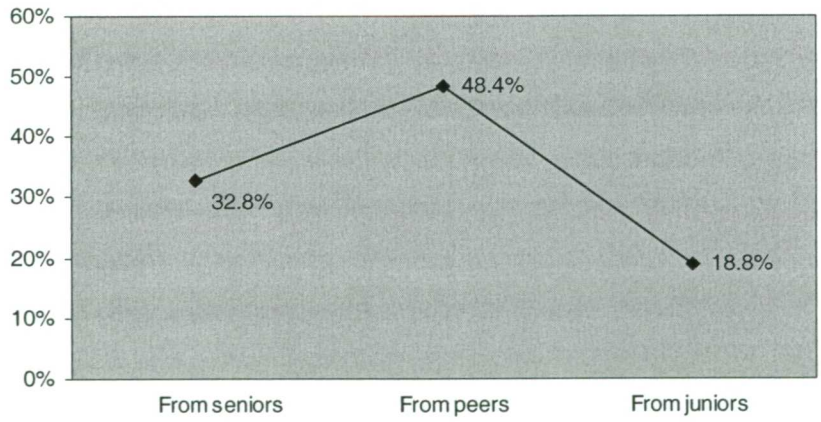
The mechanism works in the opposite direction for upwards compliments, which can usually be considered sycophantic.

It must be emphasised here that categorising speakers and hearers in accordance with the power status factor seems adequate in discussing the representation of authority between the British, but not quite as adequate between the Thais. As I have discussed in

2.3.1.2, the stratification of Thai society is based on more strict hierarchies, and interpersonal authority is more distinctively mirrored in the 'age' variable. In other words, age (seniority) differences play another important role in distinguishing the speech features of those with power (seniors) from those with less power (juniors). From the British and Thai cultural perspectives, similarities in authority and age make it logical to include speakers in examples 40 to 42 in the category of status equals. However, examples 43 through to 46 trigger complications. Although the speakers were socially equal in the British sense, they were not so in the Thai sense, due to the intervening 'age' factor. Hierarchy is clearly manifested in the use of the word *phîi* ('older sibling'), followed by NNs (in examples 43, 49, 50, 51 and 57), which shows that one speaker was older. Note that interactants need not be 'real' siblings to refer to one another as *phîi* (either for address or reference), since this is simply a way of conforming to the social hierarchy in Thai culture.

To explore this variable further, I classified 186 Thai compliments (but not the British ones) into the following groups: from 'older to younger speakers', from 'age peers' and from 'younger to older speakers' (see 2.3.1.2). As displayed in figure 5.10, compliments between age peers occurred most frequently, responsible for about half of the entire sample (90 instances or 48.8%). Outside this domain, compliments from people with more seniority were given 61 times (32.8%) to those younger – considerably more often than compliments that were given from younger to older people (35 times or 18.8%).

Figure 5.10 Age in Thai Compliments



These figures are consistent with those analysed for the power status variable in many respects. The explanations offered then can be applied here as well. Compliments between age peers are generally harmless. Even if misunderstandings take place, having equality in age and authority means that agreement and camaraderie can be rectified without too much uneasiness. Compliments in Thai are sometimes received with a feeling of distrust, not only between age peers (examples 48 and 52), but also between other interlocutor pairs (examples 49, 50 and 51). The larger the age gap, the more precarious the compliment. As a Thai

person, it has occurred to me that giving compliments is associated more with grown-ups, bearing witness to Holmes's (1988a: 503-504) speculation that children who give compliments are precocious. When compliments would involve children or teenage participants, it is more appropriate for adults to praise youngsters. Adults have gone through more experiences in life and, consequently, can make sensible judgements as to what is right or wrong, what is good or bad, and so on. This leaves the less experienced in a position where it is better to listen than to talk. Children may have the ability to use compliment strategies grammatically, but their sociolinguistic competence fails them when it comes to assessing the context of speaking and who their potential complimentees should be (see Fraser and Nolen, 1981).

Example 60
A complimenting B, her older distant cousin.
A: ʔaaʔii tèŋtua sŭaj cay/ wannii ca paj năj/
auntie DRESS beautifully really/ today FTR GO where/
B: thalŷŋ/ dĭaw doon tè/
insolent/ soon BE kick/
A: 'Auntie, you're wearing very beautiful clothes. Where are you going today'?
B: 'Behave yourself or I'll kick you'.

Example 60 shows a compliment from a teenage girl being rejected by her adult female cousin, regardless of the sincerity condition. The response by B implies that she perceived the compliment to be audacious or, technically, an FTA.

5.3.2.5 Gender Variation in Thai Compliments

Differences in the use of compliments among women and men in Thai society represent a considerable divergence both from the British data and those from previous studies. Table 5.8 shows the distribution of 186 Thai compliment exchanges.

Table 5.8 Gender Distribution in Thai Compliments

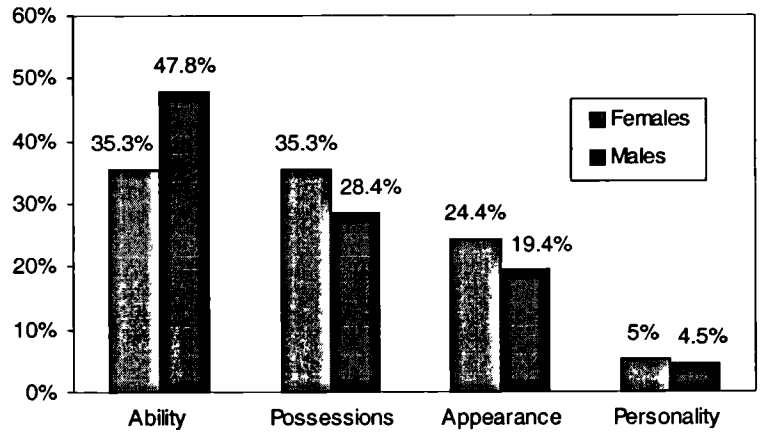
Gender Types	Thai	Britain
F-F	**51 (27.4%)**	65 (28%)
F-M	**68 (36.6%)**	56 (24.1%)
M-F	**29 (15.6%)**	54 (23.3%)
M-M	**38 (20.4%)**	57 (24.6%)
Total	**186 (100%)**	232 (100%)

The most common compliments were those given from female to male speakers (68 instances or 36.6%) and the least common ones were given from male to female speakers (29 instances or 15.6%). Interestingly, if we consider the complimenters only, we see that, in total, women in F-F and F-M interactions gave compliments distinctively more often than men in M-F and M-M interactions. It is tempting to hypothesise on this evidence that, in Thai culture, women tending to compliment most regularly reflects the widely held view that

they are particularly concerned with ensuring good interpersonal relationships (Holmes, 1995: 36). In social transactions, women opt for positive politeness strategies like compliments to ensure unproblematic relationships with men as well as among women themselves. Nevertheless, gender differences in my corpus are relatively minor, compared to previous studies. So whether such a hypothesis can be applied fully to the entire Thai population remains a matter of speculation.

In terms of topics, figure 5.11 illustrates the percentages of compliment topics used by females and males in their own gender groups.

Figure 5.11 Gender Viewed by Compliment Topics in Thai



Although the differences that represent all four topics are not statistically significant (see below), I think they suggest some probable trends. In line with the British findings, ability was the most preferred attribute in Thai culture, with female speakers responsible for the occurrence of 42 compliments (35.5%), in contrast to 32 instances (47.8%) of male speakers giving compliments on the same attribute ($\chi^2 = 2.78$, $p = 0.09$). Quality of possessions was the second most frequent topic. It was found that women tended to compliment others more on this topic (42 instances or 35.3%) than men (19 instances or 28.4%) ($\chi^2 = 0.93$, $p = 0.33$). As with the third topic (appearance), it was also women who employed praises more often (29 instances or 24.4%) than men (13 instances or 19.4%) ($\chi^2 = 0.60$, $p = 0.43$). The last topic (personality) was used with virtually the same frequency by women (6 instances or 5%) and men (3 instances or 4.5%) ($\chi^2 = 0.02$, $p = 0.86$). The distributional pattern that Thai women tended to use compliments more often than men on all topics but ability corresponds well with what I have reported for my British data, which could be explained in the light of Holmes's (1995) view that, across cultural lines, women do not value ability, achievement and success as much as men.

In terms of structural patterning, there are 194 compliments out of 211 individual compliments that fall into four patterns (i.e. the ones I formulated for the Thai data). It was revealed that compliments in sub-patterns 1.1 were used most frequently by female

complimenters (57 out of 85 times). Sub-pattern 1.2 was also predominantly used by women (36 out of 60 times). Male-offered compliments were not as frequently heard, but still this shows men's preference for sub-pattern 1.1 over any other patterns. Data on other patterns are scarce and do not show interesting differences in terms of the participants' gender. Holmes (1988b, 1995) suggests that women prefer to amplify the force of their utterances by resorting to long compliment structures as well as rhetorical devices more often than men. We have discussed in 5.3.2.1 the fact that repetition of two identical adjectives, verbs and adverbs in Thai gives more semantic weight to these grammatical units. I found that Thai women adopted these strategies in 11 out of 13 such compliments (examples 50, 56 and 57).

Herbert (1990) states that compliments, when approached from a personal focus perspective, enable us to generalise that women and men may use compliments to serve different purposes. As we touched upon in 5.3.1.5, my own British data match this speculation. However, I have refrained from discussing Thai compliments within this framework. Thai compliments in pattern 4 (the only pattern that has to do with first-person pronouns) occurred too sporadically (11 out of 194) in the corpus. Therefore, it would do no justice to first-person pronouns if we ventured an analysis that lacks data in this important aspect of compliments and gender.

5.3.2.6 Responding to Thai Compliments

Compliments in Thai were coded according to Holmes's (1988a) responding strategies (see tables 5.4 and then 5.9 below). One of the most interesting findings is that, out of 186 exchanges, Thai compliments most frequently involved the deflect/evade category (113 instances or 60.8%), or more specifically, the C3 sub-type (55 instances or 29.6%), where the hearers chose to ignore compliments by simply giving no response (examples 41, 44, 52 and 57) or changing the subject. The next most frequent strategy was the accept type (53 instances or 28.5%), with the A1 sub-type being the commonest strategy (38 instances or 20.4%). Exchanges in the A1 sub-type were accepted with agreeing utterances equivalent to English *yes* (example 53), expressions of thanks (example 61), or a smile. The least frequent strategy for compliment responses in Thai was the reject category (20 instances or 10.7%), divided into disagreeing utterances (B1) and expressions challenging sincerity (B3) such as admonishments, as in examples 48 and 60.

Example 61
A male TV presenter complimenting a singer after his performance.
A: bɔ̀ɔg ʔiigthii wâa kèŋ ciŋciŋ/
TELL again that clever really/
B: khɔ̀ɔbkhun mâag khráb/
thank you really SFP[1]/
A: 'Once again, that was fantastic'.
B: 'Thank you very much'.

Table 5.9 Distribution of Compliment Responses in Thai

Response Types	Thailand		Britain	
	N=	(%)	N=	(%)
A1	38	(20.4)	93	(40.1)
A2	8	(4.3)	14	(6)
A3	4	(2.2)	1	(0.4)
A4	3	(1.6)	4	(1.7)
(Subtotal)	(53)	(28.5)	(112)	(48.2)
B1	11	(5.9)	8	(3.4)
B2	—		1	(0.4)
B3	9	(4.8)	—	
(Subtotal)	(20)	(10.7)	(9)	(3.8)
C1	—		2	(0.9)
C2	29	(15.6)	15	(6.5)
C3	55	(29.6)	74	(31.9)
C4	20	(10.8)	12	(5.2)
C5	9	(4.8)	8	(3.4)
(Subtotal)	113	(60.8)	(111)	(47.9)
Total	186	(100)	232	(100)

A comparison of Thai and British English compliment responses indicates that Thai people had a stronger tendency to ignore the praises (C3), whereas most British people preferred to accept the credit given by the compliments (A1). Leech's (1983) PP explains these differences very well. Previous research has shown that there are two cases of extremes in compliment responding. We have seen that English-speaking informants (including my British subjects) were more inclined to accepted compliments gracefully (under the influence of Leech's agreement maxim). Conversely, compliments were overtly rejected more than accepted in Chinese and Malaysian cultures (under the influence of the modesty maxim). According to my own findings, I would propose that Thai society operates somewhere between these two extremes: it could be said that Thai culture is overridden mostly by the 'approbation maxim', whose central elements are to praise others or sidestep the issue if necessary, but not to use overt rejections as a way out. In other words, Thai people may compliment each other at regular intervals, but with compliment responding, they would tend to say nothing or talk about something else. On the whole, it is apparent that both Thai and British people employed the reject type most infrequently as their responding strategies. This finding bears resemblance to Lakoff's (1973) view of politeness: our major goal in conversations is to maintain solidarity rather than to invoke contradictions.

5.4 Elicited Findings

Elicited findings were drawn from responses given in 40 copies of DC(A): 20 were completed by native speakers of British English and another 20 by native speakers of Thai (see 4.1.2. for the objectives of the questionnaire data, and see appendix B for a DC(A) sample). Written responses were analysed for grammatical forms and lexical items. The total of 12 dialogue situations were formulated to represent four compliment topics (appearance, performance, possessions and personal characters). Using the relationships between friends/colleagues and keeping the social distance variable (D) constant, the questionnaires were set out to investigate the power status variable (P) between imaginary speakers. Responses to compliments in the written format were also considered. It must be remembered that elicited data may be representative of spontaneous ways of speaking in many respects, but they are by no means an exact equivalent of naturally occurring data.

5.4.1 British English Questionnaire Data

5.4.1.1 Syntactic Patterns and Semantic Indicators

I identified 200 individual direct compliments that fitted eight of the nine regular compliment structures of Manes and Wolfson (1981): 191 were formed in one of these patterns, while the rest in other patterns. There occurred as many as 90 written utterances in the DCs that could be considered compliments as well, but were given indirectly. Table 5.10 gives the results for the written compliments according to Manes and Wolfson's structures, compared with the fieldnote data (see table 5.1).

Table 5.10 Syntactic Structures of Written and Fieldnote Data

Patterns	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
Pattern 1	**73 (38.2%)**	96 (45.9%)
Pattern 2	**41 (21.5%)**	30 (14.4%)
Pattern 3	**39 (20.4%)**	30 (14.4%)
Pattern 4	**7 (3.7%)**	7 (3.8%)
Pattern 5	**9 (4.7%)**	7 (3.8%)
Pattern 6	**2 (1%)**	10 (4.8%)
Pattern 7	**6 (3.1%)**	7 (3.3%)
Pattern 8	**14 (7.3%)**	19 (9.1%)
Pattern 9	—	1 (0.5%)
Total	**191 (100%)**	209 (100%)

The written data correspond very well with natural data in terms of their frequencies. They indicate that, collectively, my British respondents preferred to give compliments most frequently on the first pattern and then the second and/or third patterns (examples 62, 63 and 64). The figures for pattern 8 illustrate the fact that British people also paid compliments

with minimal syntactic elements quite regularly, though much less frequently than the top three patterns above.

Example 62 (situation 2)
Tina: Your hair looks wonderful.

Example 63 (situation 1)
Billy: Oh, I like your watch.

Example 64 (situation 9)
Pamela: That's a nice watch, Robert.

Written compliments also involve the use of semantic categories conveying positive effect. I deciphered 41 different positively attributive adjectives. Those that occurred more than once are grouped in table 5.11. Interestingly, the most common adjective is *nice* (40 instances), the same adjective used most frequently in natural compliments. Adjectives such as *great* (25 instances) and *good* (21 (instances) also featured quite regularly and matched well with the frequency of the fieldnote data, albeit with different rank orders of frequency.

Table 5.11 Top 12 Adjectives in Written Compliments

Adjectives	N=
1. Nice	40
2. Great	25
3. Good	21
4. Wonderful	6
5. Excellent	6
6. Fantastic	4
7. Lovely	3
8. Smart	3
9. Funny	3
10. Jolly	3
11. Amazing	2
12. Impressive	2

The questionnaires also yielded a variety of verbs with positive connotations: LIKE (22 instances), BE IMPRESSED *by* (7 instances), ENJOY (5 instances), BE PLEASED *with* (5 instances), LOVE (4 instances), ADMIRE (4 instances) and APPRECIATE (2 instances). Example 65 shows the use of the verb LIKE.

Example 65 (situation 12)
Jim: Oh, yes! I do like that. Would look good in my sitting room!

We may recall that there are no instances of the performative verbs of complimenting in the natural data. However, the verb COMPLIMENT (not classified in the nine regular patterns) occurred twice in the written responses, as in example 66.

Example 66 (situation 11)
Joe: Joy, I must compliment you on your new hairdo. It really works a treat on you.

Non-adjectival compliments that make use of adverbs and intensifiers are also worth mentioning. There are 12 different positively affective intensifiers, among which *really* is the

most regular, occurring 58 times, whereas others are much less common: *very* (5 instances), *extremely* (2 instances), *such* (2 instances) and *so* (2 instances). *Well* was the only adverb that was discovered (8 instances).

Example 67 (situation 3)
John: [Smiled] Catherine, you really are a ray of sunshine in the staff room on a Monday morning.

There are four cases of metaphorical NPs representing the complimentees: *a breath of fresh air*, *a scream*, *a ray of sunshine* and *one in a million*. Example 67 is an illustration of an indirect compliment with this comparative device.

5.4.1.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Written Compliments

We have seen that, in general conversations, it is safe to pay compliments to those we share at least some degree of familiarity with (e.g. friends and intimates). My analysis of the solidarity variable (D) has shown that it is hardly necessary to seek solidarity with others whom we know to a lesser extent (e.g. strangers) and that friends and colleagues produced more relevant data than people in other relationship roles. Having this in mind, I assigned the social standings of all imaginary characters to be distance-neutral with the purpose of further considering the power status variable (P), which is divided into superiors to inferiors, equals to equals, and inferiors to superiors. Typical English FNs and LNs were given to each speaker in order to explore the use of address forms in written compliments in encounters of varying levels of power status. The encounters can be seen in appendix B, to which the numbered situations below refer.

In status-equal encounters (situations 2, 4, 6 and 7), no TLNs were found. Friends and colleagues generally addressed one another with FNs such as *Sarah* (10 times), *Dorothy* (5 times), *Susan* (5 times) and *Ronald* (5 times). There were several occasions when the characters were addressed by FN derivatives such as *Sue* (twice), *Dot* (once) and *Ron* (5 times) to hint at their familiarity and status equality (see Blum-Kulka and Katriel, 1991). A solidarity-oriented address form *man* was also found, as in example 68.

Example 68 (situation 7)
Betty: Result! That watch is wicked, man.

Although address forms were used quite regularly in the natural British data, I found that they did not tend to call forth power-laden implications and were confined to regular FNs and their shortened versions only, even in circumstances involving interactants of different statuses. This distinction is much more apparent in the written data.

In upward compliments (situations 1, 5, 8 and 10), people of lower status were more likely to address their seniors or bosses with TLNs or deference titles (e.g. *sir*). In the questionnaires, FNs were employed not as often as TLNs (i.e. 10 times vs. 18 times): *Robert*

was called *Mr Hewitt* seven times, *Jay* was called *Mr Simpson* three times, *Dorothy* was called *Miss* (or *Mrs*) *Crawford* four times, and *Howard* was called *Mr Douglas* four times. A few conversational gambits (notably, hedging devices and pragmatic particles) were sometimes used to make otherwise inappropriate compliments sound gentler to the ear of social superiors (see Holmes, 1995), as in the first clause in example 69 and in the utterance following the TLN in example 70.

Example 69 (situation 5)
Jessica: If you don't mind me saying so, Mr Simpson, I think your new look rather suits you.

Example 70 (situation 8)
Alice: Mrs Crawford, I couldn't help noticing your proposal. It looks great.

Nevertheless, four questionnaire informants opted out of situation 10, commenting that it would be unsuitable for junior members of staff to compliment the cheerful personality of their bosses.

In downward compliments (situations 3, 9, 11 and 12), the address forms used are quite consistent with those in status equal encounters: *Catherine* (8 times), *Robert* (6 times), *Joy* (7 times) and *Dorothy* (8 times) were regularly called by their FNs, though there are two instances of *Catherine* being addressed as *Kathy* and *Miss Kay*. It is interesting to note that *Lady Pamela Giles-Brown* (class-consciously stereotyped by some respondents as stilted and unnaturally posh) was the only character that resorted to two endearment terms (e.g. *my dear* and *darling*) and semantically extravagant vocabulary such as *divine*, *striking* and *truly*, as in example 71.

Example 71 (situation 9)
Pamela: Oh, that's just simply divine, darling.

Example 72 (situation 9)
Pamela: Robert, that watch looks rather unique and expensive. I hope we are not paying you too much.

Differences in social power resulted in bosses being aware of their own standing relative to their employees and in asserting the rights to patronise their staff. In one questionnaire, *Pamela* was noticed jokingly admonishing *Robert* for his extravagance, as in example 72.

5.4.1.3 Written Compliment Responses

There are 240 dialogue items available for the 20 copies of DC(A)s, among which five are not compliments. Table 5.12 shows 235 compliment responses that were taken from 240 dialogue items in the DCs. I have replicated the coding scheme devised by Holmes (1988a, 1995) and classified the DC responses into 'accept', 'reject' and 'deflect/evade' types. The greatest majority of written compliment responses occurred in the accept type; 177 instances (75.3%) in the A1 sub-type relate to compliments being received gracefully, as in example

73. This finding is well in tune with natural compliment responses. There are only six compliments (2.6%) that fall into the A2 sub-type.

Table 5.12 Frequency of Written Compliment Responses

Response Types	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A1 Appreciation token	177 (75.3%)	93 (40.1%)
A2 Agreeing utterance	6 (2.6%)	14 (6%)
A3 Downgrading utterance	—	1 (0.4%)
A4 Return compliment	—	4 (1.7%)
B1 Disagreeing utterance	4 (1.7%)	8 (3.4%)
B2 Question Accuracy	—	1 (0.4%)
B3 Challenge sincerity	—	—
C1 Shift credit	—	2 (0.9%)
C2 Informative comment	31 (13.2%)	15 (6.5%)
C3 Ignore	1 (0.4%)	74 (31.9%)
C4 Legitimate evasion	7 (3%)	12 (5.2%)
C5 Request assurance	9 (3.8%)	8 (3.4%)
Total	235 (100%)	232 (100%)

The second most frequent type of questionnaire responses was the deflect/evade type, or more precisely, the C2 sub-type (31 instances or 13.2%). The characters deflected the compliments by giving informative accounts, as illustrated in example 74. Other sub-types in the deflect/evade type were also used, but with much less frequency. Regarding the C3 sub-type, one respondent provided a response that fits into this type by suddenly changing the subject of talk, as in example 75.

Example 73 (situation 1)
Billy: That is a nice watch.
Robert: Thank you.

Example 74 (situation 6)
Lisa: It's good to be around you. You're always jolly.
Susan: It's better than being miserable.

Example 75 (situation 6)
Lisa: I do like your company.
Susan: Where's your brother?

Example 76 (situation 5)
Jessica: Ah, you've changed your hair. It looks good.
Jay: Oh, it's just a haircut. Nothing special.

The least common responses of written compliments was the reject type. There are only four instances of responses of B1 sub-type (1.7%); one is illustrated in example 76.

The A1 sub-type was the most frequent response strategy in both naturalistic and elicited findings. However, apart from this similarity, the frequency of the written responses does not correspond very well with the natural ones. This may be due to the inescapable impact of differing data-gathering techniques. In the fieldnote data, the informants were oblivious of being monitored and were seen to naturally say (as well as not to say) something as their intuitions told them to. On the contrary, the questionnaires provided space, the

consequence of which was that the DC respondents perhaps felt compelled to give at least minimal answers. Yet, it can still be legitimately generalised that British people, on the whole, tend to accept compliments, rather than to reject or evade them.

5.4.2 Thai Questionnaire Data

5.4.2.1 Structures of Written Thai Compliments

At the completion of the written Thai data analysis, I had identified 361 utterances that could be considered as individual speech acts, among which were 246 direct and 115 indirect compliments. Table 5.13 gives a breakdown of elicited direct compliments, comparing them with the natural data (from table 5.6). Both sets of data resemble one another in the most frequently used compliment pattern; that is, 152 written instances (61.8%) were formed in pattern 1 (compared to 43.8% in natural data), as in example 77.

Table 5.13 Syntactic Patterns of Written Thai Compliments

Patterns	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
1. 1.1 NP/PRO ADJ (really)	152 (61.8%)	85 (43.8%)
1.2 ADJ (really)	41 (16.7%)	60 (30.9%)
2. 2.1 thammaj ('why') NP/PRO ADJ (really)	—	3 (1.5%)
2.2 thammaj ('why') ADJ (really)	—	15 (7.7%)
3. (PRO) V ADV (really)	9 (3.7%)	21 (10.8%)
4. (I) chôob ('LIKE')/prathábcaj ('BE IMPRESSED *by*') NP (really)	44 (17.9%)	10 (5.2%)
Total	**246 (100%)**	194 (100%)

However, a discrepancy with the natural data could be seen in the remaining patterns. Considering the next most frequently chosen strategies, it was found that my Thai questionnaire informants opted for pattern 4 (44 instances or 17.9%, as in example 78) and sub-pattern 1.2 (41 instances or 16.7%, as in example 79) nearly equally frequently. Pattern 3 was used very sporadically. Compliments beginning with *thammaj* ('why') in patterns 2.1 and 2.2, quite recurrent in the natural data, were not used at all in the questionnaires.

Example 77 (situation 1)
A: naarikaa khŏoŋ phîi sŭaj caŋ lɔ̀ɔj khráb/
watch GEN older sibling beautiful really SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP^{1}/
A: 'Your watch is very beautiful'.

Example 78 (situation 2)
A: tàd phŏm màj rɔ̌ɔ/ duudii caŋ lɔ̀ɔj/
CUT hair new SFP$^{2.2}$/ pleasant-looking really SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'You've had a haircut? You look very nice'.

Example 79 (situation 8)
A: khun ceenciraa khá/ dichán chôɔb ŋaan khɔ̌ɔŋ khun caŋ khà/ sǐi níi kɔ̂ɔ sŭaj
HON FN SFP[1]/ I LIKE work GEN you really SFP[1]/ colour this also beautiful
ciŋciŋ khà/
really SFP[1]/
A: 'Ms Janejira, I really like your work. These colours are also very beautiful'.

Considering semantic indicators, there are 26 different positively affective adjectives in written Thai compliments. The most popular ones are presented in table 5.14. The adjective *sŭaj* ('beautiful'), also the most common in the natural data, has 91 occurrences out of 195 instances. The second most frequently chosen adjective, never found in the natural data, is *duudii* ('pleasant-looking') (29 times). We may recall that, in the natural data, the second most frequent adjective is *kèŋ* ('clever'). Though common in the questionnaire data, it comes in the third place of regular occurrence (11 times). As regards non-adjectival compliments, there are five verbs of liking. The verb *chôɔb* ('LIKE') was selected 34 times (example 79), whereas others were chosen much less frequently: *prathábcaj* ('BE IMPRESSED *by*') (4 times), *thùugcaj* ('BE PLEASED *with*') (twice), *phɔɔcaj* ('BE PLEASED *with*') (twice) and *chŷynchom* ('ADMIRE') (twice).

Table 5.14 Most Frequent Adjectives in Written Thai Compliments

Adjectives	N=
1. *sŭaj* ('beautiful')	91
2. *duudii* ('pleasant-looking')	29
3. *kèŋ* ('clever')	11
4. *nâarág* ('cute')	7
5. *dii* ('good')	6
6. *lɔ̀ɔ* ('handsome')	6
7. *jîam* (slang for 'excellent')	6
8. *ʔaaromdii* ('good-humoured')	6
9. *kěe* ('chic')	4
10. *khajăn* ('perseverant')	3

Five intensifiers were found with different frequencies: *mâag* (80 instances), *caŋ* (70 instances), *dii* (56 instances), *ciŋciŋ* (29 instances) and *chiaw* (6 instances). The range of semantically positive adverbs found is very limited: *dii* ('well') (3 instances), *kèŋ* ('competently') (3 instances), *sŭaj* ('beautifully') (1 instance) and *ciŋciŋ* ('seriously') (1 instance). Unlike the natural data, no metaphorical noun conveying a positive evaluation was encountered in the questionnaires.

5.4.2.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Written Thai Compliments

In this section, I offer an analysis of written Thai compliments according to the use of address forms between status equals and between unequals. Terms of reference in Thai, more numerous and clearly distinguishable than English ones (see 2.3.1.2), are also discussed, followed by an investigation of SFP usage. As with the British survey, the Thai questionnaires are also consonant with the relationship of imaginary characters in one aspect of the social distance variable (D), as 'friends and colleagues'. This serves as a useful basis to examine the power status variable (P) in three levels.

In circumstances associated with status equals (situations 2, 4, 6 and 7), my findings show that most invented friends and colleagues generally favoured address forms of a non-power-laden and distance-neutral nature. For each specific hearer, FNs were used between one and four times (i.e. *Kwanpirom*, *Janejira*, *Natenathee* and *Somyos*). Shortened derivatives were called for between one to five times (i.e. *Kwan*, *Jane*, *Nate* and *Yos*). Very few respondents chose TFNs, that is between one and three times (*khun Jane*, *khun Nate* and *khun Yos*). The majority of personal reference terms selected also indicate absence of power: the first-person pronoun *phŏm* was used most regularly (23 times), succeeded by *chăn* (13 times), *raw* (once) and *khâa* (once); second-person pronouns were also recurrent, namely *thəə* (22 times), *khun* (20 times), *kɛɛ* (6 times), *Jane* (3 times), *tua* (once) and *naaj* (once). Taking all situations into consideration, SFPs typical of this kind of relationship were employed, namely *ləəj* (34 times), *ná* (9 times), *cà* (3 times), *wà* (twice) and *là* (once).

Example 80 (situation 2)
A: kwăn/ thəə tham phŏm soŋ níi lέɛw nâarág mâag ləəj ná já/ tàd thîi ráan
FN/ you DO hair CLS this PST lovely really $SFP^{2.1}$ $SFP^{2.1}$ $SFP^{2.1}$/ CUT at shop
năj já rΐa/
where $SFP^{2.1}$ $SFP^{2.1}$/
A: 'Kwan, you look so lovely with this hair style. Where did you get it done'?

SFP combinations occurred with great frequency and variety; the most regular ones are those beginning with *ná* (e.g. *ná nîa* and *ná já*) (12 times) and *là* (e.g. *là cá* and *là sì*) (10 times). Example 80 illustrates some of these usages: solidarity-oriented linguistic devices are the shortened FN *Kwan*, the second-person pronoun *thəə*, and the SFPs *ná* and *já*.

Circumstances where respondents were induced to give compliments upwards produced distinct differences. Most interesting of all the findings is that, unlike in status equal encounters, no address forms indicating equal power were used by characters in situations 1, 5, 8 and 10 at all. The vast majority of characters in inferior positions attached formality to these dialogue situations and/or displayed deference to their social superiors in their choice of speech forms. FNs were never used on their own, but instead mostly preceded

by HONs such as *khun* and *thân*. Between one and five times for each addressee, we find cases of *khun Prasong, khun Janejira* (and *khun Jane*), *khun Suttikiat* and *thân phûucàdkaan* ('sir' plus 'manager'). On between one and seven occasions, titles (or HONs) occurred without FNs: *khun, phûucàdkaan, hŭanàa* ('head') and *ʔaacaan* ('lecturer'). For terms of personal reference, I found that most first-person pronouns are those indicating either formality (*phŏm* (16 times) and *dichăn* (9 times)) or subservience (*nŭu*) (five times). The first-person neutral pronoun (*chăn*) was also used 4 times. Most second-person pronouns in these situations point to the higher social status of the addressees such as *phûucàdkaan* (10 times), *thân* (9 times), whereas others signal the formality of situations such as *khun* (23 times) or *khun* followed by FNs (4 times). Numerous uses of SFPs were encountered, with a vast majority of them suggesting politeness: *khà* (27 times) and *khráb* (24 times). There are several combinations of SFPs; again, virtually all preceded the two politeness SFPs mentioned above (namely *ná khá* (18 times) and *ná khráb* (13 times)). Example 81 illustrates an instance of these usages.

Example 81 (situation 1)
A: phûucàdkaan khráb/ naarîkaa sŭaj dii ná khráb/ thâathaaŋ khoŋ pheeŋ si
manager SFP[1]/ watch beautiful really SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/ SEEM maybe expensive SFP[2.1]
khráb rĭia/
SFP[1] SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Your watch is very beautiful, sir. I guess it must have cost you a lot of money'.

Yet what the four dialogue situations have in common is that some of the A speakers sometimes prefaced their compliments with apologetic expressions, equivalent to *excuse me for taking the liberty to say that...*, probably to counteract the potential of their compliments being perceived by the hearers as inadvertent. This refers back to a point made earlier (for example in 5.3.2.4): compliments are considered suitable only when given either downwards or to people of the same status.

In compliments downwards elicited in the last set of scenarios (situations 3, 9, 11 and 12), it can be summarised that people in a superior position generally resorted to linguistic features common to status equals, and also sometimes favoured terms that show status imbalance. Most address forms were produced in the form of TFNs between twice and five times in each situation: *khun Rawiwan, khun Jeerayuth* (or *khun Yuth*), *khun Wikarnda* (or *khun Da*) and *khun Janejira* (or *khun Jane*). FNs occurred between one and three times for individual addressees. Considering terms of reference, the male first-person pronoun *phŏm* was selected most regularly (35 times) among all 40 pronouns in this category (note that speakers in all but situation 9 were males). Other pronouns used either are neutral,

status-wise and solidarity-wise (*chăn*, *dichăn* and *dían* featured once each) or indicate higher authority of the speakers (*phîi* 'older sibling', featured twice). There are more occurrences of second-person pronouns, among which *khun* was the most frequently selected (42 times). Besides, I found, in every situation (except situation 12), cases of TFNs (between one and three times) and pronouns showing the addressees' lower power status, notably *nŭu* (once), *nóɔŋsăaw* (once), *thəə* (once). In terms of SFPs, on average, the ones selected most consistently have undertones of politeness and formality attached to them; for instance, the particles *khráb* and *khà* (when on their own) featured 4 and 3 times consecutively. There are numerous mixtures of SFPs, among which the most frequent ones are *ná khráb* (17 times) and *ná khá* (4 times). It is generalisable that bosses were aware of the power imbalance between themselves and their addressees, and this is reflected in the choice of their verbal strategies. The remark made by the head of department in example 82 is an interesting illustration. An indirect compliment like this is more suitable between status equals or from superiors to inferiors, but less likely to be offered by junior employees to their bosses.

Example 82 (situation 12)
A: khun ceen/ phŏm khíd mâj phìd ləəj thîi wájwaaŋcaj naj tuakhun hâj tham
HON FN/ I THINK not wrong SFP[2.1] that RELY in you GIVE DO
ŋaan chín níi/
work CLS this/
A: 'Janejira, I am glad I have relied on you to do this piece of work [because you performed the task so well]'.

5.4.2.3 Responding to Written Thai Compliments

Among 240 available dialogue situations, 219 contained at least one complimentary utterance and were analysed according to Holmes's (1988a) model. The results are shown in table 5.15. The A1 subtype was chosen most regularly by my Thai informants; compliments in 104 dialogue items (47.5%) were accepted with either agreement or gratitude expressions, as in example 83. The second most regularly used response strategy is the C2 sub-type where compliments were evaded with informative comments (44 instances or 20.1%), followed by the C5 sub-type, where compliments were evaded by requests for confirmation (25 instances or 11.4%). The next most frequent strategies that have equal frequencies are the B1 sub-type and C4 sub-type (14 instances or 6.4%). Divergences from the Thai natural data exist, as shown in table 5.15, which is probably the result of the methodology used. Compared to the British findings, an important contrast concerns the reject strategies – the rarest in all my four compliment data sets.

Table 5.15 Written Thai Compliment Responses

Response Types	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A1 Appreciation token	**104 (47.5%)**	38 (20.4%)
A2 Agreeing utterance	**7 (3.2%)**	8 (4.3%)
A3 Downgrading utterance	**4 (1.8%)**	4 (2.2%)
A4 Return compliment	**4 (1.8%)**	3 (1.6%)
B1 Disagreeing utterance	**14 (6.4%)**	11 (5.9%)
B2 Question Accuracy	—	—
B3 Challenge sincerity	**3 (1.4%)**	9 (4.8%)
C1 Shift credit	—	—
C2 Informative comment	**44 (20.1%)**	29 (15.6%)
C3 Ignore	—	55 (29.6%)
C4 Legitimate evasion	**14 (6.4%)**	20 (10.8%)
C5 Request assurance	**25 (11.4%)**	9 (4.8%)
Total	**219 (100%)**	186 (100%)

Example 83 (situation 11)
A: khun wîkaandaa khráb/ phǒm khîd wâa soŋphǒm níi ráb kàb bajnâa khun mâag
HON FN SFP[1]/ I THINK that hair style this SUIT with face you really
lɔ̀ɔj ná/
SFP[2.1] SFP[2.1]/
B: khɔ̀ɔbkhun khà phûucàdkaan/
thank you SFP[1] manager/
A: 'Wikarnda, I think your new hair style really suits you'.
B: 'Thank you, sir'.

It is apparent that Thai people, when rejecting compliments, sometimes questioned elements of sincerity or scolded the complimenters, whereas the British, under similar circumstances, simply offered disagreeing utterances.

Example 84 (situation 4)
A: khun phen khon thîi mii phɔɔnsawăn naj ŋaan thaaŋdâan níi mâag lɔ̀ɔj ná/
you BE human that HAVE talent in work field this really SFP[2.1] SFP[2.1]/
phǒm chɔ̂ɔb ŋaan khɔ̌ɔŋ khun mâag lɔ̀ɔj là/
I LIKE work GEN you really SFP[2.1] SFP[2.1]/
B: mɛ̌ɛ/ chom kàanpaj rýplàw khá/
INT/ COMPLIMENT overtly SFP[2.2] SFP[1]/
A: 'You're such a talented person in this field. I really like your work'.
B: 'Oh well, I think you are exaggerating your compliment, sir'.

Example 85 (situation 5)
A: ʔaacaan khá/ tàd phǒm soŋ màj lɛ́ɛw duudii mâag lɔ̀ɔj khà/
teacher SFP[1]/ CUT hair CLS new PST pleasant-looking really SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/
B: thəə nîi mâjdâjrŷaŋ lɔ̀ɔj/ nîi mâjchâj rŷaŋ thîi sǒmkhuan phûud/ tɔ̀ɔpaj jàa tham
you this useless SFP[2.1]/ this isn't issue that appropriate TALK/ later don't DO
jàaŋŋíi ʔìig ná/
this again SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Your new haircut is really nice, sir'.
B: 'How uncouth you are to compliment me! This is not an appropriate topic of talk. Make sure you don't do it again'.

I have discussed in 5.3.2.2 how the complimentees in Thai culture perceived praises as socially inappropriate. In some instances of the written Thai data, compliments were met with strategies of B3 sub-type (challenge of sincerity) in 3 instances (1.4%), as in example

84). The response in example 85, an explicit act of admonishing, was also grouped into this category.

5.5 Conclusions

The realisation of natural British English compliments conforms well with the results obtained from other countries in the English-speaking world. So it is justifiable to assert from this evidence that compliments are also positive politeness devices in Britain. My findings have borne out numerous similarities with previous studies as regards syntactic patterns and lexical distribution, topics and functions of compliments, and how different role relationships of interactants are accounted for. A divergence was detected in the less marked differences in the number of compliments by female and male informants, possibly because the size of my British data set was rather small. In terms of compliment responses, British English speakers accepted praises as frequently as they downgraded them, unlike informants in earlier projects, who employed the accepting strategies most frequently.

It was revealed that spontaneous Thai compliments made use of predictable grammatical structures and lexical formulae and that, owing to their regular formulaicity, they are also conversational routines. Considering propositional content, not only did Thai compliments have more specific meanings, they also adhered more strongly to the truth conditions in the positive evaluation and functioned as genuine expressions of admiration rather than as solidarity tokens (as is the case with British English compliments). Thai and British English compliments featured consistently on four recurrent attributes, though it was found that some widely accepted values typical of the two cultures were sometimes not similar (i.e. outer looks and complexion). Resemblances were further seen in interpersonal relationships of speakers: Thai and British compliments were exchanged most regularly among friends, status equals and between people with minimal age gap. A significant pattern of variation was observed according to the gender of Thai speakers, with a great majority of compliments being offered by women. I argued that this reflects the fact that women have a subordinate role in Thai society, and offering compliments is a way to secure their place and smooth the rough edges of interpersonal transactions in yet another male-dominated culture (Cooper and Cooper, 1996). Considering responding strategies, it has been demonstrated that Thai people exhibited a compelling tendency to deflect the offered praises. In short, they would not go so far as to gracefully accept or to overtly reject compliments.

The British and Thai versions of DC(A) provide an extra source of findings. As we have seen, the elicited data are in tune with the natural data, especially insofar as compliment structures and other semantic components are concerned. There are only minor differences in the ways in which people in varying social relationships made use of compliments. Just as

the questionnaires were provided with personal names and clearly defined interpersonal differences, my respondents lent themselves promisingly to the task of selecting appropriate speech forms that corresponded to specific role relationships. Address forms, personal pronouns and sentence final particles used in friend-to-friend and downward compliments were relatively very similar in kind. A notable limitation is that the questionnaires were provided with space and may have constrained respondents to give answers that were not considered 'natural' in some places. Written compliments elicited from the DCs in both languages show that an 'appreciation token' was the most preferred responding category – lending weight to the claim that, interculturally, praises are to be accepted rather than deflected or rejected.

CHAPTER 6

The Speech Act of Apologising

6.1 Preliminary Considerations

Apologising behaviour has received considerable research interest in linguistic politeness in recent decades. Studies undertaken in English and many other languages offer insights about how this expressive speech act is realised and perceived across cultural lines. Olshtain (1989) compares preferences in apology strategies among speakers of Australian English, Canadian French, German and Hebrew. She found that there was no great variation in strategies and that her subjects were prone to resort to IFIDs after having committed offences. This finding led Olshtain (1989: 170) to claim that explicit expressions of regret like IFIDs are 'universal manifestations of [apology] strategy selection'. Cohen and Olshtain (1981), Cohen et al. (1986), and Olshtain and Cohen (1983, 1989) report on subtle culture-specific undertones in apology speech events in American English and Hebrew: in their native sociolinguistic environments, Hebrew speakers were less likely (than Americans) to produce direct apologies or offer of repair; they would rather deflect the potential force of offence by giving reasons as to what caused the infringement. Trosbørg (1987) discovered that, in most cases, the Danes and the British did not differ much in terms of their choices of direct apology strategy. There were nevertheless several cases in which the Danes appeared to give more explanation but to offer less repair (Trosbørg, 1987: 154, 164). Meier (1996) investigated apologies and excuses (or 'remedial work', to use the author's own term) in American English and Austrian German. The study shows minimal variation of apology strategies: the Americans not only had a tendency to apologise effusively, they also gave more excuses and more promises of forbearance – a speech act behaviour much shunned by Austrians. Suszczynska (1999) undertook a contrastive study of English, Polish and Hungarian apologies. She claims that IFIDS were commonly called for in most situations investigated and that Polish and Hungarian speakers had quite a strong tendency to employ requests to withhold anger and pleas for forgiveness, as part of their language-specific apologising behaviour. Coulmas (1981: 70) remarks in his critique of English and Japanese apologies that languages differ from each other according to the appropriate contexts of use of verbal strategies and 'every society and every socio-cultural group seems to have its norms and values with regard to what kinds of deeds and omissions require apologies [...] and how these obligations can be met verbally'.

The bi-dimensional theory of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) provides some explanations for these phenomena. As discussed in 2.2.3, positive politeness devices signify in-group solidarity, whereas negative politeness devices preserve social distance and respect (for discussions, see Olshtain and Cohen, 1989 and García, 1989, for example). In Brown and Levinson's estimation, since apologies imply deference and the wish not to intrude upon others, they lie at the very heart of negative politeness conception. Full apologies and taking on responsibility are more regularly called for in negative politeness-oriented cultures (e.g. USA and Britain), whereas in positive politeness-oriented cultures (e.g. Israel and Venezuela), more explanations are offered. In Anglo-American societies, being late for a meeting usually induces an explicit show of regret while, in some other cultures, a similar scenario elicits a series of accounts instead such as *you know me, I'm never on time* or *well, it couldn't be helped* (Olshtain and Cohen, 1989).

After reviewing remedial interchanges in Western cultures, I now present some findings from Thailand (Bergman and Kasper, 1993) and Japan (Coulmas, 1981; Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990; Maebashi et al., 1996; Tanaka et al., 2000, among others). Bergman and Kasper (1993) studied apology strategies in American English and Thai. They point out that there were huge correlations in the ways the two groups of informants used verbal apologies: the (Hawaiian) Americans and the Thais produced IFIDs with more or less similar frequencies, except that the latter group deployed other redressive strategies slightly more often (e.g. downgrading responsibility, offer of repair). We now home in on Japan, a speech community that is often stereotyped as being extremely susceptible to debt and guilt (Tanaka et al., 2000). The findings from Barnlund and Yoshioka (1990) and Maebashi et al. (1996), for instance, are highly congruent. Both have concluded that Japanese people were likely to apologise more profusely than the Americans for identical types of transgression (see also Beebe and Takahashi, 1989b: 105). Tanaka et al. (2000) report that Japanese people were more willing than most Westerners to apologise even when they were not at fault. The observations of Japanese interactional styles by Coulmas (1981) are also noteworthy: Japanese apologies are conversational routines so omnipresent that they can sometimes be substitutes for other speech acts, particularly thanking (see 8.1). This peculiarity often puzzles the Americans (and other English-speaking people) who can hardly see why an apology is necessary. For example, a Japanese female was heard saying *sorry for giving me a ride* to an American friend who dropped her off in front of her house (Ikoma, 1993). Ide (1998) asserts that the Japanese formula (*sumimasen*) performs more functions than English *sorry*, with an overlapping role with thanks that often conjures up a perplexing stereotype. To cultural outsiders who may have the initial impression that saying *sumimasen* on 'receiving gifts and favour' means that the speakers are being apologetic (instead of thankful, if viewed logically), an average Japanese person would explain that, in Japan, the

practice of favour giving and receiving 'focusses on the trouble [it has] caused the benefactor rather than the aspects which are pleasing to the recipient' (Coulmas, 1981: 83); because of this, uttering just *thank you* is just not adequate acknowledgement of one's gratitude.

Interesting cultural differences have also been recorded in the verbal forms of apologies in Japan and the USA. An American precept exalts 'self-esteem' and 'self-determination' and is associated with the belief that frictions and apologies are normal parts of the development of friendship. Hence, to restore social harmony after causing an offence, it suffices for an American to apologise, give explanations and excuses. In Japan, however, the same remedial interchanges do not guarantee full reconciliation, and poorly founded apologies worsen the matter (Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990: 197). Offences of disastrous severity (especially in work settings) can be compensated for by the directly responsible individuals offering multiple apologies, resigning or even going so far as to take their own lives. Cases of this kind abound in the literature as well as in folk media. In 1982, a plane crash in Washington DC prompted the President of the American airline to explain that the accident had been unavoidable (reportedly, no apology was produced). Four weeks later, another air accident happened in Tokyo Bay, resulting in senior Japanese officials giving a television announcement of apology to the families in mourning and consequently quitting their jobs (Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990: 193-194). More recently, during the recession period in the Far East in late 1997, the bankruptcy of a Japanese securities company seemed too destructive and humiliating for its chairman to cope with; he insulted himself and apologised to those affected during a news bulletin, resigned and committed suicide a few days later (Driscoll, 1997). It is ironic to mention that neighbouring countries (e.g. South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand) have undergone more serious and more lingering financial disaster but *none* of the responsible officials adopted such self-sacrificing strategies to accept their failures.

6.2 Defining Apologies

Apologies, like compliments, are destined to fulfil communicative goals of displaying interpersonal attitudes and emotions, and supporting the face wants among interactants (Goffman, 1955). Some apparent distinctions are that while compliments attribute the 'valued' good to the addressee's positive face (Holmes, 1988a), apologies represent redress to the addressee's negative face as a result of some offence (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1989; Olshtain and Cohen, 1983; Bergman and Kasper, 1993). All things being equal, both compliments and apologies are face-saving acts (FSAs); compliments convey solidarity and friendliness, and apologies convey respect and deference (Holmes, 1995).

Goffman (1955, 1971) brought to light the sociological implications of apologies in his discussions of facework (see 2.2.1). He posits that an apology is an indispensable constituent of the interactional process known as the 'remedial interchange'. When a speaker perceives him/herself responsible for an infraction that has affected (or is about to affect) a hearer, he/she will restore social balance by 'transforming what could be seen as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable' (Goffman, 1971: 139). Goffman distinguishes three verbal moves in a remedial interchange: 'a request' (used before an offending act), 'an apology' and 'an account' (used after such act). For a forthcoming offence, the speaker may use (1) a request such as *can you tell me how to get to Charing Cross station, please?* to indicate to the hearer that an intrusion is about to take place. Alternatively, if the offence has already occurred, the offender may use (2) an expression of showing regret (an apology) or he/she may just (3) explain what has invoked the transgression (an account) (see also Fraser, 1981: 259-260; Borkin and Reinhart, 1978).

Researchers have attended to the realisation of apologies for quite some time, but there seems little agreement as to what sort of utterance constitutes an apology (Olshtain, 1989; Keenan, 1993; Jaworski, 1994). To explore the most basic sense of the term in British English, an apology is 'something that you say or write to show that you are sorry for doing something wrong' (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1995: 50). This definition is endorsed by the contention of several analysts that an apology should *at least* consist of an expression specifying that the speaker feels apologetic or regretful (Goffman, 1971; Hickson, 1979: 283; Wolfson, 1989: 180; Tanaka et al., 2000). Owen (1983) undertook an investigation into naturally occurring apologies in British English.

Example 1
Two strangers brushing against each other on a train.
A: Sorry.
B: It's OK.

She (1983: 21) states that even though there exist a multitude of ways of showing remorse, the linguistic features that can be counted as apologies should be confined to those utterances such as *I'm sorry* or *I apologise* (or their approximate variants) (see 6.3.1.1). A dyadic interaction that includes an explicit expression of apology is illustrated in example 1.

It is important to note further that an apology does not have to be a single strand of an expression highlighting regret; it can also contain phrases that refer to the cause of the offence, or additional comments that acknowledge the responsibility of the offender for the wrongdoing. Olshtain and Cohen (1983, 1989) introduced the notion of 'apology speech act set' or a speech event in which an explicit admission of regret co-occur with other strategies. To give one illustration, the first pair of the interchange in example 2 incorporates an

apology speech act set (or 'compound apology', according to Holmes (1990), or simply 'remedial interchange').

Example 2
An engineer delivering a microwave that B had sent for repair.
A: I'm sorry. I'm late. It's been such a busy day, you see.
B: No problem.

It consists of an expression of regret (*I'm sorry*), an acceptance of responsibility (*I'm late*) and an explanation (*it's been such a busy day, you see*), respectively.

Nevertheless, some other analysts hold quite a different viewpoint. They advocate that, despite an expression of regret is a notable keyword, any utterances produced by the offender after a social offence can be regarded as apologies in their own terms (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983, 1989; Holmes, 1989, 1990, 1995).[1] In her studies of apologising behaviour in New Zealand English, Holmes (1990: 159) describes an apology as 'a speech act addressed to B's face-needs and intended to remedy an offense for which A takes responsibility, and thus to restore equilibrium between A and B (where A is the apologizer, and B is the person offended').

Example 3 (adapted from Holmes, 1990: 169)
B answered the phone and A mistook her voice for her mother's.
A: Hello. Margot?
B: No, it's her daughter speaking.
A: Oh, gosh. You sound like your mother – is that the baby of the family?
B: Yes, that's right.

Example 4 (adapted from Holmes, 1990: 171)
B, one of A's three daughters, answered the phone.
A: Hello.
B: Hi, mum.
A: Oh, which one's that?
B: Jeannie.
A: So it is – I was just waiting to hear from Em, so I wasn't expecting you.
B: Huh!

This definition does not take into account the inclusion of an expression of regret in an apology. While most apology interchanges found in Holmes's corpora correspond well to the notion of apology speech act set, a small proportion of her samples did not contain direct speech acts. As a matter of fact, without an important semantic indicator such as *sorry*, the exchanges in examples 3 and 4 provided by Holmes are hardly recognisable as apology interchanges; some even provoke doubt about whether an offence has actually occurred.[2]

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[1] Despite this contention, all examples Olshtain and Cohen's papers, for instance, represent interchanges that contain explicit expressions of apology.

[2] I agree with Holmes (1990: 160) when she insists that utterances such as *I forgot my key* or *I've just done it again* can help restore social equilibrium. In any event, whether these can appropriately serve as apologies, if they occur on their own, remains disputable. As Fraser (1981: 261) advocates, when the offender expresses his/her contrition explicitly, 'there is no question that an apology has been made, or perhaps more accurately, offered'. There is a good chance of the offended person retorting with *if you really regret what you've done and want to apologise, then why not just say sorry?*

Performative verbs (notably APOLOGISE, EXCUSE, PARDON) and formulaic expressions (notably BE *sorry*, BE *afraid*) are the requisite keywords for utterances to be guaranteed as apologies (see Cohen et al., 1986; Keenan, 1993, among many others). To avoid confusion of analysis, my discussions of apologies will focus exclusively on speech interchanges encompassing at least one 'explicit expression of regret'.

6.3 Observational Findings

6.3.1 Apologies in British English

Some research studies have already been devoted to the realisation of apologies in British English. Owen (1983) and Aijmer (1996) investigated naturally occurring apologies from a discourse-analytic framework. Trosbørg (1987) looked at the speech act using role-play experiments, from the perspectives of communicative competence and second language acquisition. Tanaka et al. (2000) examined apologies and complaints by means of open-ended questionnaires, in their attempt to compare these speech acts cross-culturally. The present study is built on these and other studies, with the chief purpose of examining natural and elicited British English apologies within the frameworks of sociolinguistics and linguistic politeness.

6.3.1.1 Apology Strategies

It may look difficult at first sight to come to a complete taxonomy of linguistic strategies that one can employ to 'put things right' after a social infraction (Fraser, 1981: 259). Thanks to the previous work, it is now well-known that most native speakers of English rely on fixed and formulaic speech forms when they apologise to someone (Edmonson, 1981: 273; Holmes, 1990: 167; Aijmer, 1996: 82). For instance, based on the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC), Aijmer (1996) confirms that apologising behaviour has regular formulaicity and is a common conversational routine in English (also Coulmas, 1981; Edmonson, 1981). This lends support to my earlier contention that explicit apologies should always contain IFIDs and/or devices of a similar class.

Analysts have formulated different strategies of verbal redress in their own projects on apologies (see also Firth (1995) and McEvoy (1995) for reviews). For instance, Fraser (1981) invented nine strategies based on his (not very systematic) personal observations. Using DCTs, Cohen and Olshtain (1981) and Olshtain and Cohen (1983) formulated an

inventory containing four categories (with four sub-categories).[3] Trosborg (1987) proposed seven super-strategies (with 18 sub-strategies), drawn from her role-play findings. Keenan (1993) elicited eight strategies from her written data. Using an ethnographic approach, Holmes (1990) distinguished four strategies (with eight sub-strategies),[4] while Aijmer (1996) utilised 13 strategies. After a thorough consideration, I came to believe that it would be sufficient to just collapse them into four super-strategies, as Cohen, Olshtain and Holmes recommended (see table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Apology Strategies

Apology Strategies	Examples
A. An explicit display of apology	
A1 An offer of apology	*I apologise; please accept my apologies.*
A2 An expression of regret	*I'm sorry; I'm afraid.*
A3 A demand for forgiveness	*Excuse me; I beg your pardon.*
B. An explanation or account	*The traffic was horrendous.*
C. An acceptance of responsibility	
C1 Accepting the blame	*Silly me; it's my fault.*
C2 Expressing self-deficiency	*I wasn't looking; I forgot; I'm late.*
C3 Recognising B as deserving Apology	*You're right.*
C4 Expressing lack of intent	*I didn't mean to break it.*
C5 Offering repair/redress	*I'll get a new one for you.*
D. A promise of forbearance	*Next time I'll remember; I promise it won't happen again.*

The data from my corpus and Holmes's made it possible to compare apology (super- and sub-) strategies used by native speakers of New Zealand and British English. Unfortunately, Aijmer and Owen concentrated on certain super strategies only, so I was not able to obtain information regarding how to account for C and D super-strategies in their findings. Having said that, all these studies (including mine) point to the conclusion that the A super-strategy (explicit expressions of regret) was used most often by native speakers of all varieties of English. For a comparative purpose, I illustrate the data from my own findings side by side with those from previous projects in table 6.2.

Among 228 naturally occurring apology exchanges collected, I was able to decipher 359 separate strategies (or remedial moves). In terms of direct speech acts (A super-strategy), there were 11 examples (3.1%) of the A1 sub-type, including the performative

[3] Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 23) suggest there is another apology category called 'apology denial', in which the offender implies that he/she is not to be blamed (e.g. *why are you so sensitive?* and *it's your own fault, not mine*). However, I do not consider this instance as part of a remedial interchange since, in reprimanding the addressee, the speaker shrugs off any concern about the verbal display of regret and the necessity of social harmony maintenance.

[4] Holmes's (1990: 166) samples are not entirely verbal, in that 5.5% of her findings incorporate written apologies.

verb APOLOGISE (10 instances, as in example 5) and the expression *thousand apologies* (1 instance, as in example 6); 209 examples of the A2 sub-type (58.2%), which made use of (BE) *sorry* (188 instances) and (BE) *afraid* (21 instances); and 22 examples of the A3 sub-type (6.1%), in which the fabricated phrases *excuse me* (14 instances) and (*I beg your*) *pardon* (8 instances) were employed (example 9).

Table 6.2 Frequency Distribution of Apology Strategies in English (from Owen, 1983; Holmes, 1990; Aijmer, 1996)

Strategies	This Corpus	Holmes	Aijmer	Owen
A1	11 (3.1%)	15 (5%)	8 (3.7%)	63 (20%)
A2	209 (58.2%)	149 (49%)	180 (83.7%)	153 (49%)
A3	22 (6.1%)	18 (6%)	27 (12.5)	(N/A)
B	49 (13.6%)	70 (23%)	(N/A)	92 (30%)
C1	1 (0.3%)	8 (2.6%)	(N/A)	(N/A)
C2	56 (15.6%)	9 (3%)	(N/A)	(N/A)
C3	—	3 (1%)	(N/A)	(N/A)
C4	5 (1.4%)	7 (2.3%)	(N/A)	(N/A)
C5	4 (1.1%)	18 (6%)	(N/A)	(N/A)
D	2 (0.6%)	5 (1.6%)	(N/A)	(N/A)
Total	359 (100%)	302 (100%)	215 (100%)	308 (100%)

Considering the B super-strategy, there were 49 examples of accounts (13.6%). Examples 7 and 8 are instances of compound apologies in the A2 sub-strategy, together with accounts (e.g. *we might not come back*; *the key's not with me*).

Example 5
A seminar leader apologised to his audience.
A: I apologise for allowing myself to use the word cleavage.

Example 6
After an accident that involved water flooding down from A's flat into B's.
A: Oh, my goodness. I really thank you for being so understanding. All I can say is a thousand apologies for what happened.
B: It's just one of these things. It's no one's fault. I've been in your position before myself.

Example 7
At a restaurant, B was hesitant about booking a table. A was a waitress.
A: May I have your name, please?
B: We might not come back, I'm sorry.

Example 8
Two flatmates during a party in their home.
A: Could you drive me to Southfields? A friend's waiting for me at the station.
B: The key's not with me, I'm afraid, Andy.

Example 9
During a TV interview. B, the interviewer, misunderstood what A, a politician, has said.
A: I said advertently, not inadvertently.
B: Ah... I beg your pardon.

The C super-strategy involves expressions taking on some kind of responsibility. There was only one instance of C1 sub-strategy (0.3%). The C2 sub-strategy concerns the speaker admitting his/her own inadequacies (e.g. inefficient service, mismanagement of time) and

failures of sensory perception (e.g. forgetfulness, failing eyesight). This sub-strategy occurred with a similar frequency as accounts (56 instances or 15.6%), as illustrated in the second utterances of speakers A in examples 10 and 11.

Example 10
Two friends met up after going through a period of misunderstanding.
A: Sorry about last week. I was out of control.
B: I was really hurt, you know, when you put the phone down on me like that. But I'll forgive you because you're my best friend.

Example 11
A news broadcaster apologising during an interruption of national news bulletin.
A: I'm terribly sorry. We have some problems with the sound system.

No sample of remedial moves in the C3 sub-strategy were encountered. There were five instances of the C4 sub-strategy (1.4%) and four instances of the C5 sub-strategy (1.1%). Example 12 shows another compound apology involving an explicit apology, followed by C4 and C5 expressions.

Example 12
Two flatmates during a cold winter night. A was about to open a window.
A: Sorry. I thought the heating was on. I'll turn it on now if you're cold.
B: Do you mind?

Example 13
A lecturer (A) met her student (B) on the corridor. A forgot that B had asked her for a document.
A: Oh, I'm sorry. I really forgot. Shall I send it to you by e-mail? I must put this down in my diary.
B: [No response].

I collected only two examples of the D super-strategy (0.6%) (also very rare in Holmes's corpus), where the apologisers offered guaranteeing words that a redressive action would be taken or that the same faults would not be repeated. Example 13 is a compound apology with four separate remedial moves (A2, C2, C5, D). The last sentence is considered a promise of forbearance, because taking a written record would prompt the speaker herself to remember what she had agreed to do.

6.3.1.2 Functions of Apologies

Apologies serve a wide range of functions. As mentioned earlier, they are linguistic strategies that enable the offenders to recreate social equilibrium with the offended parties (Holmes, 1990). Hickson (1978: 290) identifies an interactional purpose of an apology as a way 'in which one can secure one's own interests by being sensitive to and responsive to the interests of another'. As conversational routines, one can easily verbalise pre-patterned apology expressions to unburden oneself of fault and/or guilt without having to aim at much originality of expression, as in example 14. By saying *sorry*, the speaker primarily fulfils the affective function; moreover, the apology (in particular if followed by other strategies such as accounts or taking on responsibility) can serve the referential function as well. In

examples 12 and 13 above, the speakers were not merely attending to the negative face needs of the hearers (i.e. desires to be respected or to be allowed full freedom) (affective function), but also elaborating on why the offence was inevitable (referential function).

Example 14
A was quickening his pace around a corner. B was walking towards him from the other side.
A: Oh, I'm sorry.
B: You almost knocked me out.

Like compliments, apologising behaviour can be described in the light of speech act theory. Suppose that when someone utters an expression of apology (locutionary act), he/she intends it to convey an admission of guilt (illocutionary force) to the offended person, who has the right to either permit or refuse forgiveness (perlocutionary effect) (see Norrick, 1979). In my corpus, I have concentrated on discussing apologies that convey regrets only. I have not, however, considered whether or not the offenders used apologies while being absolutely truthful, or just did it as false excuses to liberate themselves from the blame and/or complaints. To investigate the speakers' intentions would require a separate study.

Apologies supposedly run counter to Grice's CP. Some may argue that these negatively polite speech acts violate the maxim of quantity, in that they waste time as inefficient talk and are unnecessary components in discourse. With hindsight, apologies are by no means irrational behaviour. Holmes (1990: 157) contends that, when a redressive action is anticipated, it is the absence rather than the presence of apologies that call forth undesirable consequences in interpersonal relationships (see also Leech, 1983). Sifianou (1992: 16) holds a similar view: 'thanks and apologies, for instance, may be perfunctory or sincere, but they are usually effective because they fulfil social expectations rather than any conditions relative to truthfulness or brevity'.

Observing the things for which people apologise enables us to identify many other communicative functions of apologies, besides simply expressing sorrow and redressing an offence.

Example 15
B phoned A's company to ask for a free booklet that the company had advertised on the television.
A: Well, in fact, the book costs 5 pounds. There was some confusion during the programme when they said that it's free of charge. I'm sorry about that.
B: [No response].

Example 16
B wanted an exchange for a pair of jeans. B explained to the shopkeeper (A) that the jeans should have had a brand label when he bought it, and that he suspected that it had been worn before. A did not seem to believe him.
A: All our jeans come with labels, I'm afraid [raised eyebrows].
B: Well, what else can I say?

In example 15, the apology interchange conveys deplorable information or 'bad news' (Holmes, 1995: 156). In addition, the apology formula can also be employed specifically to highlight disagreement, as in example 16.

It is important to consider another dimension of apology categories. Some previous scholars have distinguished between 'substantive' and 'ritualistic' apologies (Goffman, 1971; Bach and Harnish, 1979; Owen, 1983); others have called them 'genuine' and 'casual' apologies (Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990). With substantive apologies, there is some awareness that an offence is underway and that the offender assumes responsibility to keep him/herself from falling victim to social sanctions (Wolfson, 1988), as in examples 14 to 17. On the other hand, there is only minimal violation of a social norm in ritualistic apologies, and their major role is to facilitate the flow of talk, notably as an attention-getter (example 17) or as a marker of the end of conversation (example 18).

Example 17
Two elderly passengers on a train. B was simply sitting on the seat.
A: Excuse me. I'm sorry to interrupt you. Does this train go to Bath, please?
B: Yes, I think it does. Have you heard about the train crash, by the way?

Example 18
A TV interviewer during a talk with a politician.
A: I'm afraid I have to stop you there.
B: [No response].

In my viewpoint, following Leech's sympathy maxim, a further distinction can be made for another type of apology formulae, which I call 'essentially ritualistic' apologies, employed to show sympathy to someone experiencing unfortunate circumstances (see Borkin and Reinhart, 1978: 60; Wolfson, 1988: 30; Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990: 194), as illustrated in example 19. While it its true that essentially ritualistic apologies do not convey admission of guilt, they (at least) express regret and, therefore, can be regarded as apologies in their own right.

Example 19
During a television interview. B (a guest) told A (the interviewer) about her husband's adultery.
A: Oh, I'm really sorry to hear that. Oh, God.
B: [Kept talking and sobbing].

Example 20
A man (A) was searching in his pocket for a parking ticket. B (his girlfriend) scolded him for swearing.
A: F**k. Where is it?
B: I beg your pardon.

I agree with Wolfson (1988: 29) that one should not make others responsible for one's own welfare by listening to the bad luck that one has encountered. In example 19, apart from speaker A saying *I'm really sorry to hear that*, it would also have been appropriate for speaker B to offer an apology, since by behaving miserably, she bothered speaker A with her personal problems. Some apology strategies can fulfil both the substantive and ritualistic roles. Example 20 is one of them: representing a light-hearted acknowledgement of personal misconduct (i.e. forcing A to stop an annoying behaviour), the apology formula carries the force of articulating a reprimand.

6.3.1.3 Topics of Apologies

Apologising behaviour is a recurrent conversational routine in English (Aijmer, 1996). Not only can apologies be formed with limited structural variation, they also concentrate on restricted topics. Barnlund and Yoshioka (1990), Holmes (1990, 1995) and Meier (1996) proposed different types of provocation stimulating apologies. Barnlund and Yoshioka gave a breakdown of four topics (i.e. mismanagement of time, failure to complete an assignment, incompetent execution of a task and breach of social etiquette), whereas Meier introduced another four topics (i.e. time, possessions, space and trust).

Table 6.3 Types of Offence

Offence Types	This Corpus	Holmes	Aijmer
Inconvenience	**103 (45.2%)**	72 (39.3%)	90 (41.6%)
Space	**54 (23.7%)**	30 (16.4%)	5 (2.3%)
Talk	**37 (16.2%)**	30 (16.4%)	98 (45.5%)
Social Gaffe	**8 (3.5%)**	5 (2.7%)	2 (0.9%)
Time	**19 (8.3%)**	26 (14.2%)	21 (9.7%)
Possessions	**7 (3.1%)**	20 (10.9%)	—
Total	**228 (100%)**	183 (100%)	216 (100%)

Holmes suggested a set of six topics (i.e. inconvenience, space, talk, social gaffe, time and possessions, which, in my estimation, is more comprehensive (see also Aijmer, 1996). I, therefore, adopted hers for my own data analysis. Table 6.3 represents findings from three ethnographically based apology studies, including mine.

Table 6.3 shows that apologies relating to the convenience for which the speaker was held responsible featured most frequently in both my (103 instances or 45.2%) and Holmes's corpora. They were frequent in the LLC also, but here apologies for talk infringements were equally frequent (in fact, slightly more frequent).

Example 21
A, a hairdresser, was rinsing a customer's (B) hair.
A: Sorry. It's a bit hot. Is it OK for you?
B: Fine.

Example 22
In a stationery shop, A wanted to buy cartridges for her printer, but was unsure about the correct size.
A: Can I take them back if they're wrong?
B: Yes, sure.
A: I'm really sorry.
B: That's OK.

Apologies on inconvenience typically concern disruptions such as when employees failed to provide sufficient service to their customers (example 21); the reverse situation, in which customers brought inconvenience to shop assistants, was also grouped into this offence type (example 22). Apologies on intruding in someone's liberty of space was the next most

frequent topic both in my British (54 instances or 23.7%) and Holmes's New Zealand corpora. The figures shown are unsurprising on the grounds that, for example, in a busy and overcrowded cosmopolitan area like London where the fieldwork was undertaken, capital dwellers' freedom of movement was very easily susceptible to trespass (e.g. by brushing against one another and stepping on each other's feet (Holmes, 1990: 179)), as in example 23. The third most recurrent topic was the talk offence, featuring equally quite frequently in my (37 instances or 16.2%) and Holmes's corpora, and very frequently in the LLC.

Example 23
Two strangers bumped into one another in a narrow hallway.
A: Sorry.
B: [No response].

With this offence type, the offenders were responsible for causing nuisance to the hearers as a result of a slip of the tongue, talking too much, creating arguments, digressing and interrupting, as shown in example 24. A much less frequent offence type in my corpus has to do with mismanagement of time (19 instances or 8.3%), especially in situations when the offenders arrived late at a social gathering or kept someone waiting, as in example 25. Another infrequent offence type relates to social gaffes (8 instances or 3.5%); for instance, the offenders caused a breach of etiquette or behaviour that deserves to be frowned upon such as yawning, burping, sneezing or staring at a stranger on the train, as in example 26.

Example 24
Following an argument, A (female) frantically shouted at B (her boyfriend).
A: I'm sorry.
B: Sorry. [long pause] So am I.

Example 25
A arrived late at a discussion meeting with his classmates.
A: Sorry. I'm late.
B: We've just started. Sit down.

Example 26
A sneezed while sitting in front of B on a library desk.
A: Sorry. Excuse me.
B: [No response].

The least frequently occurring offence type concerns incidents when the apologisers damaged or broke the hearers' belongings (7 instances or 3.1%), as shown previously in example 6. It is interesting to note that all six categories of offence are generally applicable to findings from my own, Holmes's and Aijmer's corpora, although not a single situation of the possession offence was encountered in the LLC.

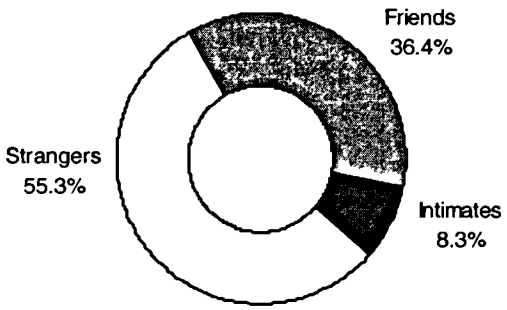
6.3.1.4 Interpersonal Relationships and Offence Weight

Different types of social relationships (particularly solidarity and power) that the apologisers have vis-à-vis the apologisees and the relative weight of offence govern our judgements as to

when, how and to whom we are expected to apologise (Wolfson, 1988: 27).

Let us consider the social distance variable (D) first. The three-level classificatory dimension was used to identify apologies between intimates, between friends or between absolute strangers (see figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 Social Distance in British English Apologies



My analysis of 228 interchanges gives the following distribution: 19 instances of intimate apologies (8.3%), 83 apologies between friends and acquaintances (36.4%) and 126 samples between total strangers (55.3%). The degree of familiarity between speakers in Holmes's apologies is very similar to that analysed for my own data; her samples were also most regularly exchanged between strangers. Examples 1, 23 and 26 are some illustrations from my corpus. This finding parallels Brown and Levinson's (1987) hypothesis that an increase in social distance (i.e. among strangers) necessitates the display of respect by means of apologies and the decrease in social distance tends not to require the production of these speech acts (see below). The fact that friends (as in examples 12 and 25) used apologies a little less frequently than strangers can also be explained in the light of these speculations. Apologies connote formality and should be avoided among friends (Holmes, 1995).

Example 27
In a supermarket, A scolded B (her boyfriend) for putting a packet of raw meat very close to her face.
A: Oh, that's disgusting.
B: Sorry.

Further, figure 6.1 indicates that apologies between intimates and family members were the least frequent in my corpus. Intimates are individuals whose relationships are certain and that the practice of rendering apologies to negotiate mutual bonds is not commonplace (Fraser, 1981; Brown and Levinson, 1987; Wolfson, 1988). Holmes (1990: 187) states that because 'intimacy evidently permits shortcuts and substitutions', we do not very often hear elaborate or explicit expressions of regrets among family members and those in romantic relationships (as in example 27). In example 28, the offender only gave an explanation (a substitution); however, this interchange was not counted as an apology, because it lacked a direct expression of showing regret. I had presumed that Wolfson's Bulge model (see 5.3.1.4)

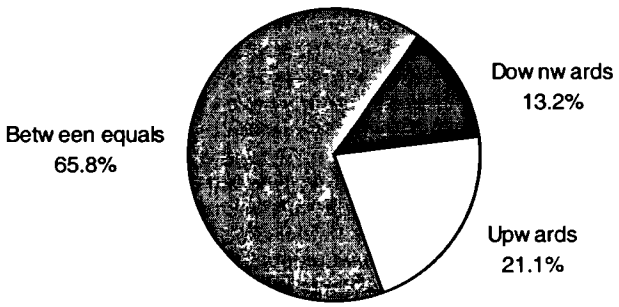
would be applicable to apologies (on the assumption that it holds for compliments), but it turned out that the theory can only offer partial support to my findings.

Example 28
A (the boyfriend), after breaking a favourite mug of (B) his girlfriend.
A: Darling, your mug's gone.
B: What?
A: I said your mug's gone.
B: Gorrr...[rolled eyes].

Contrary to what Wolfson observed, in my data, it was not friends but strangers who committed offences most regularly and explicitly verbally admitted it.

We now turn our focus to the power dominance variable (P). Three dimensions of power relations were used to classify my natural apology data: from social inferiors to their superiors, between status equals and from superiors to persons of lower status (see figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Power Status in British English Apologies



Of all 228 interchanges, an overwhelming proportion of apologies were given between status equals, such as friends and acquaintances, featuring 150 times (65.8%). In cases where participants' relationships were associated with a power imbalance, apologies tended to be given upwards (48 times or 21.1%) rather than downwards (30 times or 13.2%). These patterns correspond very well with the distribution of New Zealand English apologies (Holmes, 1990, 1995), where most apologies were exchanged among equals and least directed downwards (see also Clyne, 1994: 83). With these striking similarities, I summarise my findings in line with Holmes's generalisation: apologies are most common among status equals (as in example 29), who do not feel too concerned about the potential of face loss or having to admit inefficiency.

Example 29
Two friends discussing politics in a café bar.
A: But, but... sorry, may I interrupt you?
B: On you go then.

In other words, people in this type of relationship have more or less the same amount of power equality and authority, whether in terms of work experience or knowledge of

appropriate behaviour. So if mistakes happen, the offenders will think that they are no better or worse than the offended parties (socially, morally, intellectually) and, as a consequence, that the latter should not expect the former never to do anything wrong. However, status unequals may perceive this matter differently. In a working environment, for instance, it seems easier for employees to apologise to those above them, because social inferiors have less professional expertise in comparison to their superiors. Failures are more normal and more pardonable among the inexperienced as well as the powerless. On the other hand, bosses and people with social power take great pride in their careers. For them, admitting fault to junior staff or those socially below them may be harder, since that would be too obvious a signal of their own inadequacy, as in example 13. This hypothesis is also applicable to transactional interactions, where customers have more status than sales assistants and where it is generally accepted that clients are right, and thus are under no obligation to apologise. By uttering the speech acts of apologising, the offenders put themselves in a one-down position from the offended parties (Holmes, 1995), and it is apparently for this reason that apologies in my corpus were rarely given downwards.

Fraser (1981), Blum-Kulka et al.(1989), Holmes (1990) and Bergman and Kasper (1993) have suggested that the overall seriousness of offence also has an impact on interactants' need to apologise. I would now like to examine a contextual factor, the ranking of the imposition variable (R) (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In one study, Holmes (1990) divided her speech act data into three broad categories: 'light' offences (e.g. brushing against someone on a train, not speaking loud enough), 'medium' offences (e.g. stepping on someone's foot, damaging someone's glass, creating a verbal fight) and 'heavy' offences (e.g. causing flooding into someone's residence, overcharging someone with a large amount of money). I have built on Holmes's model in interpreting my data. An important point to remember is that deciding on the relative strengths of offence is rather a subjective matter, so my approach was to systematise this issue by carefully considering situational particulars.

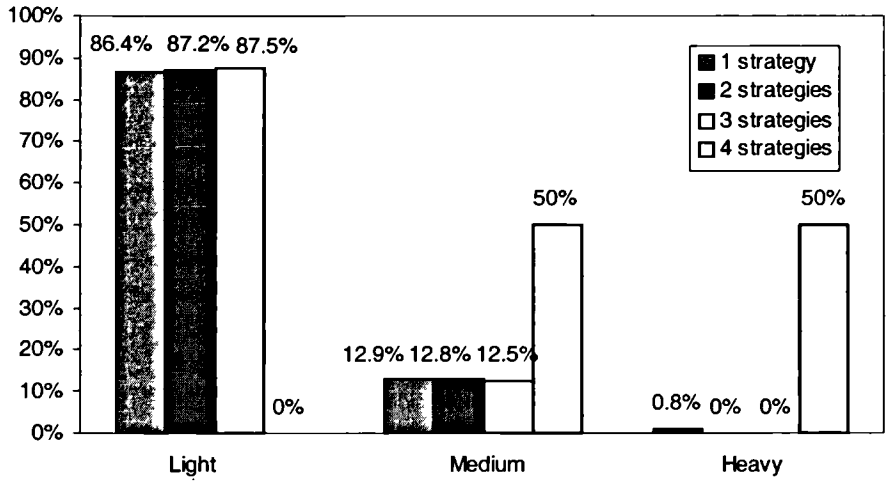
Example 30
A sales representative apologising to a chief executive of a business company.
A: I've looked into the matter, and did find that we've charged you twice for the same work. And that shouldn't have happened. I'm here to apologise for that and to reassure you that it won't happen again.
B: That's alright. I'm sure there are lessons to be learnt by all of us from what went wrong.

My findings as regards 228 apology interchanges attest that more than three quarters of apologies involve light offences (196 instances or 86%), whereas the remaining samples relate to medium offences (30 instance or 13.2%) and heavy offences (2 instances or 0.9%, as in examples 6 and 30).

Holmes (1990) suggests that the more serious the offence, the more elaborate apologies will ensue. My findings have tended to support this speculation. I therefore illustrate both issues (offence weight and complexities of strategies) in figure 6.3, where

each offence grading is specified with frequencies of a single apology or a combination of strategies (up to four strategies in one interchange). The percentages represent three types of offence weight analysed quantitatively in their own groups.

Figure 6.3 Overall Weight of Offence and Apology Strategies



Considering light offences, it emerged that this grade of seriousness gave rise to apologies of up to three strategies, with the overwhelming majority consisting of single strategies (114 instances or 86.4%) (as in example 27), followed much further behind by double strategies (75 instances or 87.2%) and triple strategies (7 instances or 87.5%, as in example 15). Moderately weighted offences, the only type that covers all combinations of strategy, were not frequent. Again the majority of them concern single strategies (17 instances or 12.9%) and double strategies (11 instances or 12.8%) (as in example 10); medium offences with a combination of three (1 instance or 12.5%) and four strategies (1 instance or 50%) occurred extremely rarely. There were only two examples of a heavily weighted offence in my corpus – one was produced with one strategy (1 instance or 0.8%) and the other with four strategies (1 instance or 50%). Both interchanges give very interesting insights, nonetheless. In example 6, although the offender employed only one explicit remedial move, his redressive action can be regarded as quite elaborate, given the presence of an intensifying expression *thousand apologies* and a thanking routine *I really thank you for being so understanding*. Example 30 is another heavy offence, which called for four remedial moves.

Following Brown and Levinson (1987) and especially Holmes (1990), I also contend that the D and P variables are important determinants on choices of apology strategies. On the one hand, intimacy allows leeway and sometimes remedial moves without explicit apologies are sufficient to redress infringements (D). On the other hand, it can be unnecessary to apologise to someone of the same or lower social status (P). Having said that, the R variable seems to assert even more influence. With regard to the D variable, apologies

among intimates and strangers are assumed not to be complex, because neither relationship type requires much interpersonal negotiation (Wolfson et al., 1989: 185). However, I would argue to the contrary. For instance, according to my own data, example 6 illustrates a stranger apology in which the degree of strategy elaboration was very great. Although I did not encounter any apology about heavily weighted infringements in private domains, let us consider an imaginary situation in which a husband intentionally shatters his wife's antique vase during an argument (+R). The breakage would more than possibly infuriate the wife; if regretful, the husband would select some verbal compensation that is not only complicated in strategies, but also may extend beyond several minutes to several days (if not months) (see Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990; Holmes, 1995). But if the offence committed by the husband was only a sneeze (-R), apologising behaviour (if forthcoming at all) may not have to be lengthy. In addition, the relative size of infraction also seems more influential than the P variable. Quite contrary to Holmes's (1990:189) estimation, my impression is that upward apologies do not have to be long and downward apologies are not always uttered very briefly. Considering cases of a student bumping into her lecturer in the corridor (-R) and a clerk's pet getting run over by his boss's car (+R), we can find reasons to show that Holmes's above hypothesis is not adequate.

I would sum up by saying that, in the analysis of remedial interchanges, the D, P as well as R variables should be accounted for simultaneously, since all of them are very indispensable in interpreting how interpersonal relationships between participants come into play in our selection of apology strategies.

6.3.1.5 Gender Variation in Apologies

In spite of an abundance of research projects into remedial interchanges across several communities, hardly any of them have explored gender issues in apologies (cf. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, for instance), except the series of studies by Holmes (1989, 1990, 1995). Holmes found that women and men informants used and perceived apologies differently. Building on her work, my corpus has also been aimed at contributing further towards an understanding of the ways in which British men and women employ apologies.

I gathered overall 228 apology interchanges. However, only 215 of them could be associated with the gender of the offended parties, and so were used as baseline data. The remaining 13 interchanges were apologies addressed to an audience or to the public. As can be seen in the columns representing both data sets in table 6.4, my data are not very well in tune with Holmes's, probably suggesting that British and New Zealand people do not view apologising behaviour similarly. It should be mentioned that the figures for female offenders (in F-F and F-M interactions) in my corpus are relatively higher than those for male

offenders (in M-F and M-M interactions). In fact, the opposite is true when we consider the gender of the 'offended' individuals in all interaction types: women were offered apologies less often than men.

Table 6.4 Distribution of Gender in Apologies

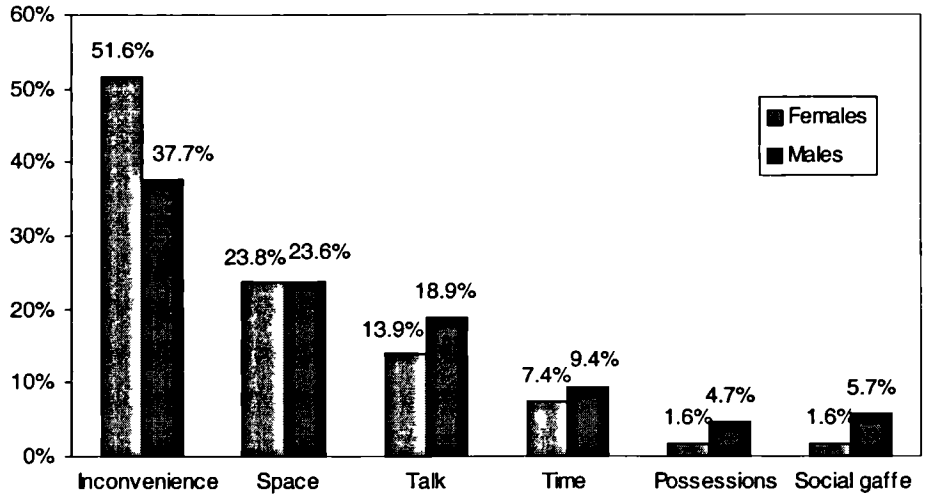
Gender Types	Britain	New Zealand
F-F	52 (24.2%)	99 (56.3%)
F-M	69 (32.1%)	32 (18.2%)
M-F	38 (17.7%)	30 (17%)
M-M	56 (26%)	15 (8.5%)
Total	215 (100%)	176 (100%)

These differences are associated with a variety of implications. Coates (1993: 12) says that women tend to be considered the minority, oppressed and marginalised group; on the other hand, men are the dominant and powerful group, who are more often given priority in receiving negative politeness treatment such as respect and freedom of action. As I have mentioned in 6.3.1.4, giving apologies is an indication that the speakers denigrate themselves and succumb to a one-down position in relation to the hearers. This also applies to the New Zealand society, which Holmes (1995) maintains as being more male-dominated than Britain. Apologising behaviour of female and male informants in my corpus (more female apologisers on the one hand, and more male apologisees on the other hand) appears to follow this thread of speculation.

We may have to look a little further than examining the simple distribution by gender, to see the kinds of obligations women and men assert towards one another when they use apologies (Wolfson, 1988; Wolfson, et al., 1989; Holmes, 1995). We will now consider gender differences in conjunction with the topics on which offences occurred (see also 6.3.1.2). As figure 6.4 shows, it should be noted that apart from apologies on inconveneince, there is no statistically significant variation on other topics of offence. More natural apology data are needed before we could ascertain its conclusiveness for the British society at large, though. The percentages displayed in figure 6.4 show some interesting trends. The topic of offence that sets women and men most distinctively apart concerns apologies caused by inconvenience. Inconvenience apologies cover an extremely broad range of speech events (in comparison with other topics), including prefacing the requests for direction or other information, mistaking someone for another person, and expecting people to be responsible for one's welfare (Wolfson et al., 1989: 178-179). It is probable that women apologised more (63 instances or 51.6%) on inconvenience, because they considered negative politeness strategies (e.g. concerns not to appear condescending to someone) more profoundly than their male counterparts (40 instances or 37.7%) ($\chi^2 = 4.42$, $p = 0.03$). Also women using

apologies more often in these circumstances is indicative of their gender-preferential speech style as 'other-oriented' and the more effort they put on maintaining solidarity with those they offended (Holmes, 1995: 163).

Figure 6.4 Gender of Apologisers Viewed by Topics



The second most frequent topic of apology has to do with intruding on others' personal space. Although the variation is both too small to deserve further elaboration and is not statistically significant, the frequencies at least suggest a possibility that the female informants (29 instances or 23.8%) perceived themselves to be a target of sexual harassment via body contact more than the male fellows (25 instances or 23.6%) and would apologise more on personal space ($\chi^2 = 0.001$, $p = 0.97$). The remainder of offence types were apologised for more frequently by men, but the numbers of tokens are too minimal for the difference to be taken seriously; that is to say, men were more responsible for talk offences than women (20 instances or 18.9% vs. 17 instances or 13.9%; $\chi^2 = 1.01$, $p = 0.31$), and so were they for time offences (10 instances or 9.4% vs. 9 instances or 7.4%; $\chi^2 = 0.31$, $p = 0.57$), social gaffe offences (6 instances or 5.7% vs. 2 instances or 1.6%; $\chi^2 = 2.70$, $p = 0.09$), and possession offences (5 instances or 4.7% vs. 2 instances or 1.6%; $\chi^2 = 1.80$, $p = 0.17$).

Example 31
Two strangers on a train. A tried to let B, a younger male passenger, know that his flies were open.
A: Excuse me [quickly looked down at B's lap].
B: Oh, thank you SO much.

Taking all into consideration, the chances are that men, in general, may not be as careful as women in their perception of talk content (e.g. more use of swear words among men) and to good time-keeping. It could also be that men value belongings and possessions more than women and, to redress offences, apologise more often when they cause breakage or damage other property. With regard to the last offence type, social gaffe, it is very likely that the

greater number of men apologising on this topic means that men do not take body lapses or other kinds of frowned-upon behaviour as seriously as women. Example 31 shows an interaction in which a man initiated a social gaffe offence for speaking to a stranger and, more importantly, for bringing an embarrassment to his attention. In my opinion, it would be quite unusual if the offender in a situation like this were a woman.

6.3.1.6 Responding to Apologies

As with compliments, responses to apologies can also be studied separately. The examination of apology responding strategies bears witness to whether the remedial work has succeeded and whether the offenders are satisfied with the placation (Holmes, 1995). Theoretically speaking, this sheds light on what types of perlocutionary effect could be achieved with the hearers by illocutionary forces of apologising performed by the speakers.

There is a handful of research studies on apologies, but hardly any have addressed apology responses in a helpful manner, besides Owen (1983), Fraser (1981) and Holmes (1989, 1995). According to Owen (1983: 97), following an offence, the apologisee has two major response strategies to choose from: to imply that the offender did indeed commit an encroachment, and to signify that what the offender said was an unnecessary act. Fraser (1981) mentions that there are four types of apology response strategies. Holmes (1989, 1995) discusses the classification of response strategies in greater depth. She admits that though there may be no easy way to assess these response types into absolute terms, they can broken down into six broad types (cf. Fraser, 1981: 265). Finding Holmes's categories to be quite illuminating, I adopted them to interpret my data. I shall first discuss the implications of responding strategies (see table 6.5) and then compare my findings with Holmes's.

Strategies that belong to the A type include ritualised expressions such as *it's OK*; *it's alright*; *don't worry*; *never mind* or verbal clues like a nod or a smile (Holmes, 1989: 207). Situations of apologies being accepted are shown in examples 1 and 2. An acceptance of an apology is, generally speaking, the most appropriate way of responding, since it shows that the redress has been successful and that the offender is forgiven. Holmes (1995: 182) comments that 'accepting an apology can be interpreted as a positively polite speech act', since it ameliorates solidarity between both parties. This conjecture calls to mind the conflicting impact of Pomerantz's (1978) dilemma as regards compliment acceptances: 'it is impossible to avoid self-praise in accepting a compliment' (see 5.3.1.6). A similar dilemma is, in my view, also operative in apologising behaviour: it is impossible to avoid the negative implication that the speaker is at fault when the hearer accepts an apology (using one of the expressions above). Put differently, responding in this way threatens the offender's negative face want (i.e. the apology forces him/her to admit defeat) and shows that the infraction is

not a righteous act. We know that, for the sake of interpersonal harmony, both interactants' faces should be equally anointed. However, in Leech's PP, the offence caused by the speaker has been 'costly' to the hearer (imposition to his/her negative face); therefore, to be fair, the apology should save the offended party's face, not that of the offender's (cf. Tannen, 1990). Since the hearer has fallen victim to an infringement that he/she (given good faith) did not deserve, responding to the apology by accepting it (rather than rejecting it) is a good enough verbal reaction that the offended party could offer. Alternatively, the offended party may resort to the irony principle (IP) and respond with another set of agreeing utterances such as **that's right*; **good*; **you did the right thing*, but these are likely to worsen the relationship rather than to maintain it. As regards the B (acknowledge) type, Holmes (1989: 207) does not offer much guide to her classification, apart from mentioning that the expression *OK (but)* should be used. It is quite difficult to know what exactly she meant by 'acknowledging an apology'. However, by reference to *but* as a discourse marker following an acceptance (*OK*) and because 'acknowledgement' does not indicate as much confidence about the proposition as 'acceptance' does (e.g. a parent may acknowledge that her son has a certain girlfriend, but whether she would accept the fact is another matter), my guess is acknowledging an apology implies that the apologisee only makes a half-hearted effort in resuming the damaged camaraderie.

Example 32
B delivered a wrong electrical appliance to A, his regular client.
A: Sorry, John, we'll put that one down to experience, shall we?
B: [Sighed] Yeah, well...

The inclusion of *but* not only points to contrasting ideas, but also softens the force of the preceding utterances (see Holmes, 1995; Schiffrin, 1987: 153-160, for instance). As a consequence, together with details of the immediate context, I further subsumed responses consisting of similar discourse markers that function as hedging devices (especially *well* and *you know*) under this responding category, as illustrated in example 32. The C (reject) type was defined by Holmes as representing apologies that are met with marked silence; the hearer feels so offended that they do not think the apology has is enough of an incentive to grant forgiveness (see also Jaworski, 1993: 49). Reprimands and harsh comments were also counted as rejections. With the D (evade) type, the hearer gives a response that partly ignores the apology by means of informative utterances (as in example 33) or an answer to the question following the apology (as in example 17).

Example 33
A, with no driver's licence on her, was about to drive off after having been caught by a police officer.
A: Sorry for being such a pain.
B: I wonder, one last thing...the seat belt.

Example 34
A and B, his friend, who arrived late for dinner.
A: Look, I'm really sorry.
B: Go back home [mutual laughter].

Example 35
Two strangers in a supermarket. A was trying to push her trolley through the crowd.
A: Sorry.
B: Sorry. I'm trying to get by. I can't move.

The E type involves interchanges where either no response is provided or expected by context (as in examples 23 and 26). The last type (F type) concerns those peculiar apologies that are reciprocated with other apologies, thanking expressions and/or joking remarks. This re-establishes solidarity; the hearer is equally regretful about the offence or tries to reassure with humour that the offence should rather be overlooked (as in examples 34 and 35).

The results shown in table 6.5 represent the distribution of apology responses analysed in my British corpus and Holmes's New Zealand corpus. In my study, the most frequent response strategy was the E (no response) type, featuring nearly half of the entire sample (112 times or 49.1%).

Table 6.5 Apology Response Strategies

Response Types	This corpus	Holmes
A. Accept	54 (23.7%)	92 (52.2%)
B. Acknowledge	5 (2.2%)	19 (10.7%)
C. Reject	—	24 (13.6%)
D. Evade	43 (18.9%)	40 (22.7%)
E. No response provided/expected	112 (49.1%)	23 (13%)
F. Other	14 (6.1%)	8 (4.5%)
Total	**228 (100%)**	176 (100%)

The hearers did not provide verbal reciprocation, either because the speech event did not require it (e.g. great social distance, low severity of offence) or the hearers simply chose to 'opt out' (Bonikowska, 1988). The distribution of my response types is quite divergent from Holmes's data, as the New Zealanders adopted the A (accept) type most regularly and the F (other) type least frequently. Regarding the second most frequent strategy in my corpus, there were only 54 instances (23.7%) of the A (accept) type in my corpus. The third most frequent response strategy were utterances of the D (evade) category (43 instances or 18.9%). This is followed by the F (other) category (14 instances or 6.1%) and then the B (acknowledge) type. No response was formed as the C (reject) type. This may suggest that, on the whole, my British informants were not too displeased with the remedial work.

Classifying apology response types requires the researcher to be as consistent as possible in his/her perception. This can be difficult. I also found that there were many incidents in which responses were expected but not given. So once again, whether absence of

response always means that an apology was rejected or that the offended party was not satisfied deserves more elaboration in future research (already urged by Holmes, 1989).

There are some notable points of similarity and contrast associated with both responses to apologies and to compliments, as far as the data from British English and New Zealand English are concerned. Excluding the utterances of the E type in this corpus, the remainder of British English apologies were accepted as equally as they were evaded. The same distribution can also be said to occur for British English compliments (that is, the two major types of response to compliments were acceptances and deflections). Considering the New Zealand data, Holmes's informants produced compliments and apologies that were mostly accepted rather than evaded or rejected. The likely implication to be gleaned here is that, in naturally occurring interactions, British people did not manifest as strong a tendency to agree gracefully with the utterers of expressive speech acts as the New Zealanders did. The prime function of compliments and apologies as politeness devices, which help maintain 'interpersonal solidarity', is seen to be more clearly operative in New Zealand than in Britain.

6.3.2 Apologies in Thai

As far as I know, there is no existing literature that addresses apologies in the Thai language within the framework of linguistic politeness (cf. Bergman and Kasper, 1993).[5] The main objective of this part of the study is to explore sociolinguistic aspects of Thai apologies, by comparing them with the data reported on British English and New Zealand apologies above. The analysis of my data investigated the following hypotheses, which I formed on the basis of my intuitions as a native speaker of Thai. Thai people may attend to remedial interchanges in more or less similar ways as their British counterparts, but strategy D (promise of forbearance) does not exist in Thai culture; unlike British English apologies, Thai apologies are not as regularly heard because they incorporate fewer semantic indicators and have fewer functions; regarding social relationships, people with more power and more seniority would rarely apologise to those below them; and lastly, in Thailand, people would reject more apologies than in Britain.

[5] Bergman and Kasper (1993) investigated the performance of native apologies of speakers of (Hawaiian) American English and Thai, and non-native apologies produced by Thai subjects. Using questionnaire data, the researchers focused on explaining the impact of contextual factors and severity of offence. Their findings are not comparable to mine, owing to their different coding scheme and also to the absence of samples of Thai apologies.

6.3.2.1 Thai Apology Strategies

I collected 131 exchanges of Thai apologies and coded them according to the four categories of remedial interchanges discussed in 6.3.1.1. However, I was unable to categorise Thai apologies in the light of A1, A2 and A3 sub-types typical of British English apologies, since grammatical elements of the two languages are too different. As we have seen in the natural British data, the distinguishing characteristic of the A category (explicit expressions of apology) is a lexical one (i.e. apologies consisting of certain words are grouped in certain sub-categories), whereas the classification of categories B, C and D is a strategic one (depending on the redressive effect and propositional meaning of utterances). The identification of Thai explicit acts of apologising was done through a separate coding scheme and slotted into the groupings of A01, A02, A03 and A04, whereas that of B, C, and D types was coded using the same interpretative approach as the British data.

I identified 198 remedial moves, as shown in table 6.6. Regarding the A type, there are 134 explicit apology expressions with four variants.[6]

Table 6.6 Thai Apology Strategies

Apology Strategies	N=
A. An explicit display of apology	
A1 *khɔ̌othôod* (general)	120 (60.6%) (performatives=5) (formulae=115)
A2 *khɔ̌oprathaanthôod* (formal, super-deferential)	8 (4%) (performatives=4) (formulae=4)
A3 *khɔ̌ɔ²aphaj* (formal, deferential)	5 (2.5%) (performative=1) (formulae=4)
A4 English *sorry*	1 (0.5%)
B. An explanation or account	25 (12.6%)
C. An acceptance of responsibility	
C1 Accepting the blame	—
C2 Expressing self-deficiency	24 (12.1%)
C3 Recognising B as deserving apology	—
C4 Expressing lack of intent	5 (2.5%)
C5 Offering repair/redress	10 (5.1%)
D. A promise of forbearance	—
Total	**198 (100%)**

[6] We have discussed in 2.3.1.2 and 5.3.2.1 that sometimes Thai grammatical elements (e.g. pronouns, subjects, copula verb) are left out and that one word can have different functions. Apology expressions are not immune to this exception either. A01, A02 and A03 strategies can operate as performative verbs (cf. APOLOGISE) and formulaic expressions (cf. *sorry*), depending on the context. Apologising speech act verbs can be identified in the following ways: when preceded by a subject, the modal verb *tôŋ* ('must') and/or the verb *kràab* ('PROSTRATE' (with joined palms)), and/or when followed immediately by an object or reference to the hearer.

In Thai society, it is commonplace that when an offence has occurred (or is about to occur), the expression *khɔ̌ɔthôod* (literally meaning 'asking for wrongdoing') in the A01 sub-type would be most frequently called for (120 instances or 60.6%), as in example 36. The expression *khɔ̌ɔthôod* is contractable to *thôod*, occurring 78 out of 120 instances. Largely consistent with informal speech events (which is true of my data), the contraction could also suggest that a Thai speaker may feel that the act of admitting guilt is too much of an FTA to his/her negative face that he/she opts for the briefest verbalisation possible (cf. Thai thanking expressions do not change forms (see 7.3.2.1)). The second sub-type (A02) relates to the formal, super-deferential expression *khɔ̌ɔprathaanthôod* (meaning 'asking to be given wrongdoing') (8 instances or 4%), as in example 37. A02 sub-type can also be in the shortened form *prathaanthôod* (2 out of 8 instances). The third sub-type relates to the formal, deferential expression *khɔ̌ɔ̀ʔaphaj* ('asking for forgiveness'), which cannot be shortened (5 instances or 2.5%), as in example 38. On the basis of my data, when these IFIDs are shortened, they *never* function as performatives. There is one instance (0.5%) of code-switching involving the use of English *sorry* (the A04 sub-type), as in example 40 (discussed in 6.3.2.3).

Example 36
A apologising to B, her female friend for breaking her glass.
A: ʔúj/ khɔ̌ɔthôod/ kɛ̂ɛw man lɤ̌yn/
INT/ sorry/ glass it slippery/
A: 'Oh, sorry. It slipped from my hand'.

Example 37
A waitress was putting a big hot bowl of soup in front of her customer whose allocated table was very narrow.
A: khɔ̌ɔprathaanthôod khà/ rɔɔ ságkhrûu ná khá/
sorry SFP[1]/ WAIT a while SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/
A: 'I do apologise. Wait a second [quickened her pace to get other dishes]'.

Example 38
A newsreader apologising for slip of tongue.
A: khɔ̌ɔ̀ʔaphaj khà/
sorry SFP[1]/
A: 'I do apologise'.

Example 39
A lecturer apologising to her students for being late.
A: thôod thii cà/ ʔúuj/ ród tíd tìd/ wâaŋaj cá/ rɔɔ naan máj/
sorry SFP[2 1] SFP[2.1]/ INT/ car STUCK STUCK/ hello SFP[2.1]/ WAIT long SFP[2 2]/
A: 'So sorry. You see, the traffic was awful! How's everyone? Have you been waiting long'?

I also came across cases when direct acts of apologising in the corpus were deployed alongside other remedial strategies. There are 25 instances of the B type (12.6%) (as in the utterance following the interjection in example 39), 24 instances of the C2 sub-type (12.1%), five instances of the C4 sub-type (2.5%) and 10 instances of the C5 sub-type (5.1%) (as in

example 37). The D strategy in which the offender commits him/herself to a promise that the same mistake will not be repeated was not heard at all in my data.

6.3.2.2 Functions of Thai Apologies

Generally speaking, apologies collected from my Thai informants can be said to perform similar functions to British English apologies. Although the numbers from the natural British data (228 interchanges) and the natural Thai data (131 interchanges) differ quite considerably, both are substantial enough for establishing linguistic comparisons, as many researchers have suggested (see 3.3). I would put forward a proposal that such variation may indicate different forces carried by apologies among the two groups of subjects. Continuous observations have seemed to point to a propensity for Thai people not to apologise in such a wide range of contexts as British people. British English speakers have at their disposal at least six verbal means of explicitly apologising (i.e. *I'm sorry*; *I'm afraid*; *I apologise*; *excuse me*; *I beg your pardon*; *forgive me*), whereas to meet the same end, Thai speakers have only three variants available (i.e. *khɔ̌ɔthôod*, *khɔ̌ɔprathaanthôod* and *khɔ̌ɔ*$^{?}$*aphaj*) (but see 6.4.2.1). Owing to this restricted selection, I share a similar opinion to that stated by many anthropologists on Thai culture (for example, Redmond (1998), Cooper and Cooper (1996)) that apologies are not as common politeness phenomena in Thailand as they are in English-speaking communities (see 6.3.2.4); even among my three sets of Thai expressives, apologies form the smallest group (see 4.1.1). In British English usage, it is perfectly acceptable to say *excuse me* or (*I'm*) *sorry* to ask someone to repeat what they have said. Apologies serving this function sound bewildering to a Thai person, since, in this case, it is just sufficient to utter an interrogative $^{?}$*araj ná* ('what' plus SFP$^{2.1}$), equivalent to *what did you say?* to express what he/she would like of the hearer. Accompanying $^{?}$*araj ná* with any one of explicit expressions of apology is optional as a means of conveying more formality or negative politeness. My understanding is that as long as an action is not a nuisance or offence to the hearer personally, a Thai person would not produce apologies. For example, in Thailand, a student accidentally dropping a whiteboard marker during a presentation or a driver unintentionally bringing a car to a sudden halt are not likely to apologise, provided that the marker did not land on someone's foot or cause much noise, or that the sudden stop did not result in other passengers bumping their heads. I have observed on many occasions that British people would say at least *sorry* in these circumstances. However, another study would be required to come to a more integrative generalisation.

In view of the three-way classification of apologies (that is, substantive, ritualistic and essentially ritualistic) (see 6.3.1.2), direct speech acts of showing regret are those that cluster more around the substantive type, whereas others around the remaining types. As

with both natural data sets, the apologies collected were found to serve both substantive and ritualistic functions. Having said that, my working assumption that essentially ritualistic apologies would not exist in Thai would have been well-justified, if it was not for the occurrence of one illustration (example 40) that I have included in this corpus. The conversation was in Thai all the way through, but speaker A suddenly switched to saying *sorry* in English, followed by a solidarity-oriented SFP, to her friend. After having lived many years in the USA, speaker A had internalised English conversational rules and chose to emphasise her sympathy with an essentially ritualistic apology.

Example 40
A came to see her friend (B) off at an airport. B found out that her plane had already departed.
A: sɔ̀ɔrîi cà/
sorry SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'Sorry to hear that'.

Mixing her turn with an English word did not bring about misunderstanding, since the hearer also had spent some time in the USA. It would probably not have made sense to an average Thai person unaccustomed to English conversations, if *sorry* (pronounced with Thai pronunciation) was replaced by any one of the three typical Thai expressions of explicit apology. Needless to say, I would retain the argument that, in Thai culture, essentially ritualistic apologies are not a recurrent concept, or in other words, it would be bizarre to apologise to someone who has experienced misfortune.

6.3.2.3 Topics of Thai Apologies

After analysing all 131 Thai compliment exchanges, I sorted them according to the offence types devised by Holmes (1990). Apologies as a result of inconvenience were the most common topic of apologies in New Zealand, British and Thai cultures. It could be generalised then that the inconvenience offence is what people most often apologise for across cultural lines.

Figure 6.5 Topics of Thai apologies

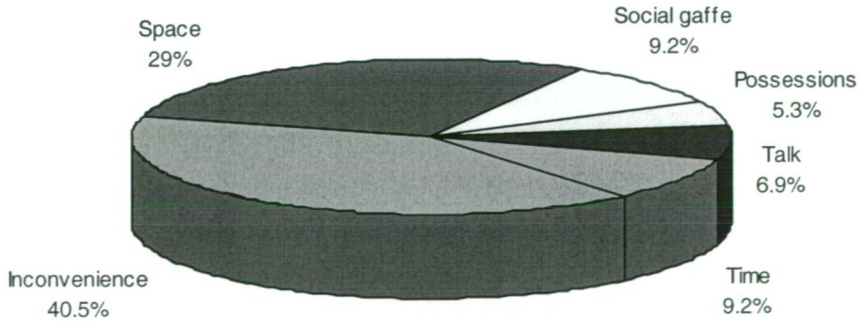


Figure 6.5 shows the results of the Thai data. About half of all exchanges have to do with inconvenience apologies (53 instances or 40.5%), as in example 40. The second most frequent offence type relates to space apologies (38 instances or 29%), such as people bumping into each other or allowing someone only limited space, as in example 37. Outside these two types, the remaining offence types featured at relatively low frequencies: 12 instances (9.2%) each for time and social gaffe offences, 9 instances (6.9%) for violation of talk, and 7 instances (5.3%) for damage to someone's possessions. The small number of possession offences suggests that these may be the most seriously weighted of all such that both subject groups paid utmost care not to cause damage to other people's properties.

We have seen above that British English and Thai apologies do not always have the same order of distribution. A case in point, consistent with variation in norms and values specific to both cultures, relates to apologies as a result of breach of etiquette or social gaffe. Social gaffe offences relate to unintentional body noises and other socially inappropriate behaviour. The scope of this offence type is broader in Thai culture, though. Recall the discussions in 2.3.1.2 that Thai society is structured on a complicated hierarchy continuum between its members, and that everyone seems to be either socially above or below everyone else. Walking past a senior individual (e.g. teacher, parent) who is seated, sitting cross-legged with one leg pointing towards him/her, or sitting above those with more power are behaviours that are to be avoided – a cultural note that sounds unfamiliar to those brought up in Western cultures (cf. Holmes, 1995: 192). In other words, being socially inferior prohibits a Thai person from positioning him/herself physically higher than someone with more status or seniority (discussed further in 6.3.2.4 below). Likewise, there is a convention in Thai culture that the head of a person is so sacred that touching the head of someone who has more seniority or even similar status is a norm infringement and requires the use of an apology. Depending on offence types and/or degrees of damage, a verbal apology may be accompanied by joining both hands together and gently bending down the head (an NVC called *wâj* in Thai) to emphasise how guilt-ridden one feels.

Example 41
At B's home. A, the secretary of B's father, was apologising for allowing herself an arbitrary seating.
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod thii/ phîi nâŋ sŭuŋ paj/
sorry SFP$^{2.1}$/ older sibling SIT high overly/
A: 'Sorry for sitting in a higher position than you'.

Example 42
A apologised to B, her colleague, before walking past the latter sitting at his desk. A also quickly joined her palms together while doing so.
A: thôod khà/
sorry SFP^{1}/
A: 'Sorry'.

Example 41 is an illustration of apology uttered by a lower status person. Example 42 is an apology that indicates that offending those in power necessitated a complicated redressive action (both verbal and non-verbal).

6.3.2.4 Interpersonal Relationships and Offence Weight in Thai Apologies

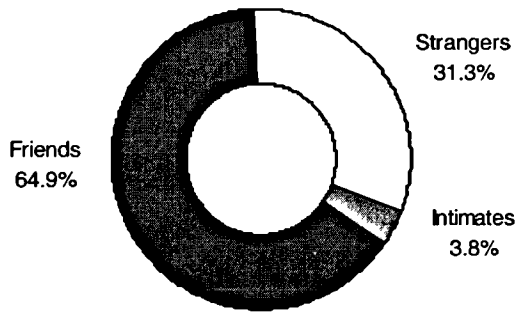
In this section, we will be considering the impact that different relationship types and degrees of offence have on the natural apologies produced by Thai informants.

As regards the social distance variable (D), 131 exchanges of Thai apologies were ranked according to the same criteria used for British English apologies (that is between friends, intimates and then strangers). The results are shown in figure 6.6. It turned out that an overwhelming majority of Thai apologies were uttered between casual friends and acquaintances (85 instances or 64.9%), such as in examples 41 and 42.

Example 43
Daughter apologising to her mother who was sitting on the kitchen floor preparing food.
A: thôod khà mêe/ khɔ̌ɔ paj nídnɣɣ/
sorry SFP[1] mother/ REQUEST GO a little/
A: 'Sorry, mum. I need to pass through'.

Strangers also caused offence quite regularly, giving apologies approximately half as frequently (41 instances or 31.3%), as in examples 37 and 38. Intimates were the group least likely to apologise to one another (5 instances or 3.8%), as shown in example 43. Wolfson's Bulge theory is a promising model for the interpretation of my Thai data, since most apologies were exchanged between friends (unlike the British data, which were mostly between strangers). Wolfson (1988: 33) has also remarked that 'the emergent and relatively uncertain nature of such relationships [between friends] is reflected in the care people take to signal solidarity [...] and to avoid confrontation'.

Figure 6.6 Social Distance in Thai Apologies

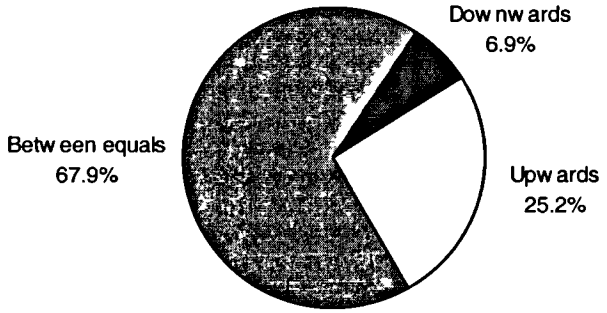


Perhaps it is the case here too that my Thai subjects regarded unambiguous relationships between strangers and intimates as not as great an incentive for producing apologies as the relationships between friends, whose social bonds are more ambiguous. All things being equal, apologies featured less regularly between strangers. The chance of them initiating any

interaction is rather small, but at least, following an infraction, strangers in my Thai corpus abided quite suitably by the rule of good social conduct and were not ignorant of when an apology needed to be produced. People with high levels of intimacy employed apologies at a very low frequency. This brings us back to the speculation that Holmes (1990: 187) has made that, in their attempt to redress infringement, intimates can call for other alternatives (e.g. the use of remedial moves such as accounts), instead of having to explicitly verbally apologise.

Thai apologies were also considered from the point of view of the power status variable (P), with the three broad gradings (between social equals, from those with power and from those with less power). Figure 6.7 displays the power distribution among Thai speakers. Close to three quarters (89 instances or 67.9%) of all apologies were exchanged between power equals (as in example 36).

Figure 6.7 Power Status in Thai Apologies

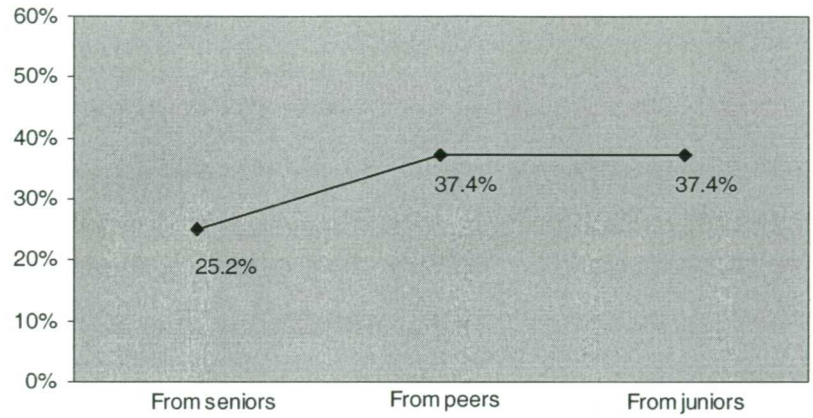


In cases where there were power differentials, more apologies were given upwards (33 instances or 25.2%) than downwards (9 instances or 6.9%), as shown in examples 43 and then 39. This pattern of distribution follows the same order of frequency already reported for British and New Zealand English apologies. So this may be suggestive of a universal phenomenon that authority gives those who assert it the prerogative not to apologise or, more specifically, not to admit their own faults and inefficiencies. People in other types of power relationships do not appear to view the matter in the same manner. Within Brown and Levinson's conception, status equals and those in a lower position do not consider giving apologies as an FTA to their own negative face wants as seriously as higher status people do.

Another interpersonal variable that I took into consideration for my Thai data is the age factor. As discussed in 5.3.2.4, age (seniority) has a very significant part to play in the production of speech acts. What I noted for Thai compliments turned out to be very well in tune with the effect of this factor on the use of Thai apologies (though the curves are not as fluctuating in this latter data set; cf. figures 5.9 and 6.8). I used the following three-way classification for the analysis: between age peers, from those older and from those younger. As figure 6.8 shows, 33 instances (25.2%) were uttered by senior people, whilst peers and

junior people both displayed an equal frequency of apologies (49 instances or 37.4%). Although I did not analyse the British data for the effect of age, the age factor has more apparent bearing on the choice of discourse styles in Thai than British cultures. For example, exchanges in examples 41 and 42 were coded as given between friends and status equals, according to the D and P variables. Although a difference in age existed, the speakers would regard themselves as equals from the standpoint of British culture. However, in the Thai context, the apologiser in example 40 had more seniority than the offended person, and this is reflected in her use of the pronoun for self-reference (*phîi* 'older sibling'). If a hierarchy did not exist, it is likely that one of the other more neutral self-referential pronouns would be adopted instead.

Figure 6.8 Age Difference in Thai Apologies



In example 42, the apology was given to a one-year-older colleague who held a similar position as the speaker, but the nuances are that, in British culture, such a minimal age gap would not turn the colleague into being a senior. Likewise, it would be doubtful whether simply walking past him (social gaffe offence) should incur an apology in British culture. It should be mentioned that the frequencies representing apologies between the three age groups are very similar, which suggests a likelihood that Thai individuals, when performing the roles of peers and juniors, perceive the necessity to (or not to) apologise in very similar ways.

An observation with which I have occupied myself for many years is that in familial interactions (especially between older and younger relatives, and between parents and their children), apologies are very seldom given downwards (both in terms of the power and age variables), regardless of offence topics and size of imposition (see below). This is supported by the Thai data. But with the British data, it was customary for people in those relationship types to use apologies to the less experienced and younger. Loss of face and admission of inadequacies may be less tolerable among senior individuals in Thai culture. For myself, I cannot recall even one occasion when my parents (when obviously at fault) offered me an

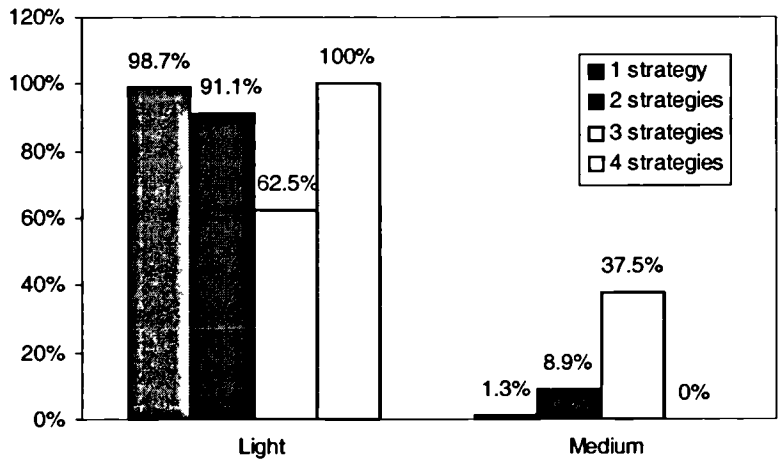
apology for any offences they inflicted on me. Casual inquiries of several Thai friends suggest that the same was also practised in their families, though I would not go as far as to generalise this for all Thai households. A very often quoted instance relates to a scenario when a glass (or a similar object) is knocked off a table and broken. An offspring offender is likely to get scolded for being careless (maybe followed by physical punishment), whereas if the parent him/herself broke the glass, he/she is prone to put the blame on the child for untidily leaving objects around (regardless of who actually caused the damage), without apologising. This makes the Thai parent sound unreasonable, when viewed from a British perspective. More compassionate offence redress strategies may exist elsewhere, but a Thai junior has to come to terms with the ethos of the culture of which he/she is a member.

The last determining factor that I would like to examine with regard to natural Thai apologies is the relative size of imposition (R variable). Using Holmes's classification, I broke down apology exchanges into three types: those involving 'light', 'medium' and 'heavy' offences. Like the British corpus, my Thai corpus was also made up almost entirely of light offences. That is, of all 131 exchanges, there were 123 apologies (93.9%) having to do with light offences and 8 apologies (6.1%) relating to moderately weighted offences. Example 44 involves a light offence and example 45 involves a medium offence.

Example 44
A belching in front of his friend after a meal.
A: thôod ná/ kin ʔim paj nɔ̀j/
sorry SFP[2.1]/ EAT full overly a little/
A: 'Excuse me! I have eaten too much'.

Example 45
A unknowingly pushed her trolley so far that it hit her friend's (B) car door.
A: khɔ̌ɔʔaphaj/ chôogdii thîi mâj pen rɔɔj/
sorry/ lucky that not BE scratch/
A: 'I do apologise. Lucky, no scratch'!

Figure 6.9 Severity of Offence in Thai Apologies



It could possibly be that more data are needed for heavy offences to have a chance to feature. Figure 6.9 also shows whether more serious offences would give rise to lengthier remedial interchanges. In the Thai data, light offences were largely consistent with single apology strategies (75 instances or 98.7%) and double strategies (41 instances or 91.1%). Moderately weighted offences occurred only eight times; four tokens (8.9 %) related to two separate strategies, three tokens (37.5%) related to three strategies and one token (1.3%) to a single strategy. As mentioned above, the number of Thai apologies is relatively low; as a consequence, the results analysed in accordance with the R variable and the length of remedial interchanges can only be taken as speculative. It goes without saying that we may be in a position to justify these trends with more confidence when a larger corpus becomes available in future.

6.3.2.5 Gender Variation in Thai Apologies

Thai apologies together with gender of speakers were analysed to consider the perception of Thai women and men regarding this speech act. Table 6.7 shows the distribution of 121 apology exchanges where the gender of speakers and hearers were identifiable, exclusive of the remaining 10 exchanges where the apologies were directed to an audience.

Table 6.7 Distribution of Gender in Thai Apologies

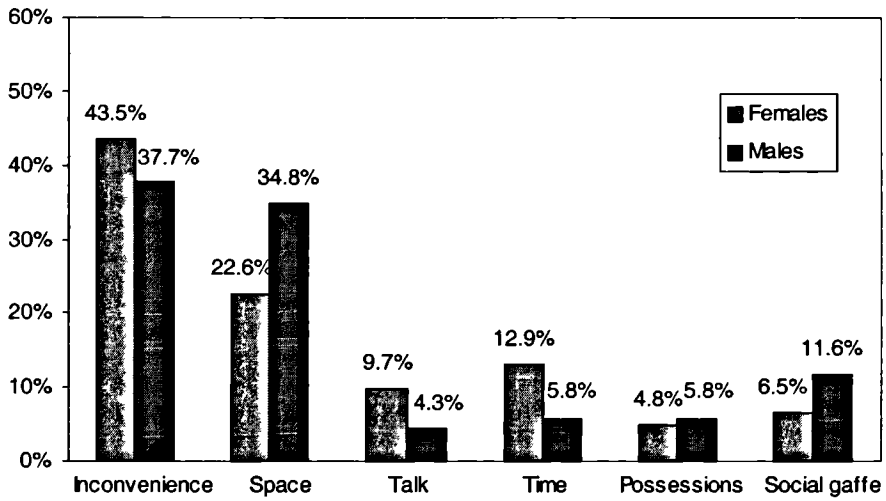
Gender Types	Thailand	Britain
F-F	**26 (21.5%)**	52 (24.2%)
F-M	**29 (24%)**	69 (32.1%)
M-F	**35 (28.9%)**	38 (17.7%)
M-M	**31 (25.6%)**	56 (26%)
Total	**121 (100%)**	215 (100%)

Apologies between all four pairs of participants are quite evenly distributed. So this corpus can only say that most Thai apologies were offered most frequently from men to women and least frequently between women, but the differences are too small.

Another interesting point has to do with how it is that Thai women and men in my corpus differed in five topics of apologies, as illustrated in figure 6.10. Although my corpus size is rather small and none of the distributional differences representing females and males as offenders reaches statistical significance, these findings suggest some interesting trends. In terms of the most frequent topic, my data show that women (27 instances or 43.5%) and men (26 instances or 37.7%) apologised for inconvenience almost equally regularly offence ($\chi^2 = 0.46$, $p = 0.49$), unlike in the British data where women were much more responsible for this type of. With the second most frequent topic (the space offence), Holmes (1995) says

that women utter more apologies than men on intruding others' freedom of space, perhaps because they are subject to sexual and physical harassment more than men and are more sensitive to this issue. When violating this norm, women would be more prepared to give apologies to show that the offence was not deliberate. The British data partly support this claim. However, in the Thai data, the reverse is true: men appeared to apologise more often than women on this topic (24 instances or 34.8% vs. 14 instances or 22.6%; $\chi^2 = 2.36$, $p = 0.12$). I would assume then that Thai women viewed offences relating to space in a similar way to their British counterparts. But the higher frequency of apologisers being men in figure 6.10 may hint at the fact that Thai men in my corpus were so well aware of Thai women's apprehension of space imposition that they were even more sensitive than women about this matter, as in example 46.

Figure 6.10 Gender Viewed by Topics of Thai Apologies



The fear of not wanting to trespass on women by mean of touching and brushing could also suggest that Thai men tried to eradicate their stereotype as the domineering, coercive members of society (cf. 2.3.4).

Example 46
An elderly man apologising to a school girl on a train for brushing against her.
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod ná nŭu/
sorry SFP[2.1] you/
A: 'Sorry'.

Example 47
A was about to open a photo album belonging to B (his female peer). After B admonishing him, he apologised.
A: ʔúj/ thôod/ mii kwaamláb jə̌ caŋ ná/
INT/ sorry/ HAVE secret many really SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Oh, sorry. You have so many secrets'!

My results show further that Thai women used more apologies than Thai men in view of talk (6 instances or 9.7% vs. 3 instances or 4.3%; $\chi^2 = 1.44$, $p = 0.22$) and time offences (8 instances or 12.9% vs. 4 instances or 5.8%; $\chi^2 = 1.98$, $p = 0.15$); the former group were more

careful in these domains of apologising behaviour. The differences regarding gender and possession apologies are not great (i.e. women offenders produced 3 apologies (4.8%), whereas men produced 4 apologies (5.8%); $\chi^2 = 0.05$, $p = 0.80$). We may notice that the distribution of apologies on social gaffes used by Thai women and men is not great either (4 instances or 6.5% vs. 8 instances or 11.6%; $\chi^2 = 1.03$, $p = 0.30$). Having said that, it emerges that social violation relating to this topic is the only offence type in which men in all speech communities studied (i.e. New Zealand, Britain and Thailand) used more apologies than women. This lends support to my own hypothesis that it may be universally applicable that men allow themselves more to commit offences with respect to body lapses and other breaches of social etiquette. The exchange in example 47 gives one illustration in which A has committed a socially frowned-upon behaviour by deliberately searching his friend's cabinet.

6.3.2.6 Responding to Thai Apologies

Let us now consider the second parts of apology adjacency pairs to see the extent to which those responses were successful in restoring social equilibrium among Thai interactants. The classification of apology responding strategies was built on the model suggested in Holmes (1989). After analysing 131 apology exchanges in Thai, I came to the following conclusions, as shown in table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Responding to Thai Apologies

Response Types	Thailand	Britain
A. Accept	**30 (22.9%)**	54 (23.7%)
B. Acknowledge	**3 (2.3%)**	5 (2.2%)
C. Reject	**5 (3.8%)**	—
D. Evade	**36 (27.5%)**	43 (18.9%)
E. No response provided/expected	**55 (42%)**	112 (49.1%)
F. Other	**2 (1.5%)**	14 (6.1%)
Total	**131 (100%)**	228 (100%)

My findings display some similarity with the British data, in that both groups of informants had the strongest inclination 'not to provide' any identifiable responses (both verbally and non-verbally). In Thai, apology responses featured as many as 55 times (42%) in the E (no response provided) type, as in example 48.

Example 48
A young man brushing against another young man on the aisle of a bus.
A: thôod khráb/
sorry SFP[1]/
A: 'Sorry'.

Example 49
A was asking for an extra portion of rice from B (his colleague) during dinner at B's house.
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod khráb/ khɔ̌ɔ khâaw phǒm ʔìig dâj máj khráb/
sorry SFP[1]/ REQUEST rice I more able SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/
B: khon kanʔeeŋ théɛ théɛ/ taamsabaaj ləəj/ chəən/
human close really really/ BE at ease SFP[2.1]/ please/
A: 'Excuse me. Can I have a second helping of rice, please'?
B: 'We are so close [so you don't have to ask]. Eat as much as you want. Go ahead'.

The second most regular responding strategy was the D (evade) type (36 times or 27.5%), where the offended parties gave informative comments without overtly agreeing or rejecting apologies, as in example 49. The third most frequently used category was the A (accept) type (30 times or 22.9%), which included minimal responses (e.g. *châj*, *khráb* or *khà*) equivalent to English *yes* or the formula *mâjpenraj* (the counterpart of English *never mind*; *that's OK*; or *don't worry*), as in examples 50 and 51. The frequencies of the remaining strategies were not very great (1.5%-3.8%). Again, this particular finding matches relatively nicely not only with Holmes's New Zealand corpus, but also with my own British corpus.

Example 50
B dropped by to see A (his male peer). A answered the intercom while still in bed.
A: hɛ́ɛj/ thôod thii wà/ ŋuâŋnɔɔn ciŋciŋ/
INT/ sorry SFP[2.1] SFP[2.1]/ sleepy really/
B: mâjpenraj/ lɛ́ɛwkhɔ̂j cəə kan ná/
that's ok/ later MEET each other SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Hey, I'm really sorry. I'm so tired'.
B: 'Not to worry. See you later then'.

Example 51
A young man stepping on a young woman's foot in a department store.
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod khráb/
sorry SFP[1]/
B: mâjpenraj khà/
that's OK SFP[1]/
A: 'I'm sorry'.
B: 'That's OK'.

Example 52
A female student listening to her walkman turned a corner and bumped into her female tutor.
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod khà ʔaacaan/
sorry SFP[1] lecturer/
B: dəən rawaŋ nɔ̀j si cá mɛ̂ɛkhun/
WALK carefully a little SFP[2.1] SFP[2.1] my dear [semi-derogatory]/
A: 'I'm sorry, miss [with joined palms]'.
B: 'You, JUST be careful when you walk'!

Although there is no occurrence of response in the C (reject) type in British English apologies, I was able to collect five instances (3.8%) of interactions in which the Thai offended parties were annoyed with the offenders, seen in either their verbal or non-verbal reactions that turned down the apologies, as in example 52.

It could be inferred that British and Thai informants seemed not to be too worried about offences inflicted on them, and that they were quite ready to forgive the offenders. From the linguistic politeness perspective, the fact that the majority of apologies in the two

natural data sets were not responded to, suggests that most remedial interchanges in both languages accomplished the goals of restoring social harmony, resulting in the negative face of the apologisers' being lost, but that of the apologisees' being enhanced.

6.4 Elicited Findings

The following discussions are grounded on replies from 40 copies of DC(B) supplied by 20 native speakers of British English and 20 native speakers of Thai (see appendix B for a questionnaire sample). These responses were investigated for structural distribution of apologies, influence of social identities of speakers on speech forms and apology responses (see also 5.4 for justifications).

6.4.1 British English Questionnaire Data

6.4.1.1 Forms of Written Apologies

Each DC(B) contains 18 conversational situations, based on six apology topics and two interpersonal variables (that is, absence of social distance, but varying power statuses). From the total of 360 available dialogue items, only 279 exchanges involved explicit expressions of apologies (see 6.2) and were chosen for the main data analysis. I present the results from the written responses (cf. the natural data) in table 6.9.

In 279 written apology situations, I was able to identify 575 remedial moves and broke them down into different super- and sub-strategies.

Table 6.9 Written British English Apology Strategies

Apology Strategies	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. An explicit display of apology		
A1 An offer of apology	**14 (2.4%)**	11 (3.1%)
A2 An expression of regret	**218 (37.9%)**	209 (58.2%)
A3 A demand for forgiveness	**55 (9.6%)**	22 (6.1%)
B. An explanation or account	**112 (19.5%)**	49 (13.6%)
C. An acceptance of responsibility		
C1 Accepting the blame	**13 (2.3%)**	1 (0.3%)
C2 Expressing self-deficiency	**106 (18.4%)**	56 (15.6%)
C3 Recognising B as deserving apology	—	—
C4 Expressing lack of intent	**1 (0.2%)**	5 (1.4%)
C5 Offering repair/redress	**55 (9.6%)**	4 (1.1%)
D. A promise of forbearance	**1 (0.2%)**	2 (0.6%)
Total	**575 (100%)**	359 (100%)

This finding corresponds well with the natural data, especially given the most and the least frequently occurring strategies. The most regularly used explicit remedial moves by British English questionnaire informants were the A2 sub-strategy (218 instances or 37.9%) (*sorry*, 216 times and *afraid*, twice), as in example 53; followed by other direct speech acts: 55 instances (9.6%) in the A3 sub-strategy (which incorporated *excuse me* (48 times), *pardon me* (5 times) and *forgive me* (twice)) and 14 instances (2.4%) in the A1 sub-strategy (which included the performative APOLOGISE (11 times), *please accept my apologies* (twice) and *thousand apologies* (once)).

Example 53 (situation 1)
Peter: I'm sorry, Carol. I don't understand what you are telling me. Who's fighting?

Example 54 (situation 10)
Penelope: Michael, have you been waiting long? The bloody bus didn't come. Sorry.

The subsequent strategies according to their order of frequency were the B super-strategy (112 instances or 19.5%) (example 54), the C2 sub-strategy (106 instances or 18.4%) (examples 53 and 55), the sub-strategy C5 (55 instances or 9.6%) (example 56) and the C1 sub-strategy (13 instances of 2.3%) (example 57). In both British English data sets, there was no single instance of sub-strategy C3, and instances representing super-strategy D hardly appeared at all in the corpus.

Example 55 (situation 14)
James: I'm sorry. I didn't realise...

Example 56 (situation 3)
Thomas: I'm so sorry! Let me help you [probably panting or out of breath, and blushing].

Example 57 (situation 7)
Julia: Oh, I'm sorry. How rude of me!

I have just mentioned that the majority of apology situations (279 exchanges) involved explicit expressions of regret. However, the remaining exchanges (not counted as apologies due to the absence of explicit apology expressions), should also be taken into account in order to arrive at a more integrative view of how social equilibrium is restored. These 81 exchanges incorporated only B, C, or D strategies or other devices (e.g. expressions showing concern, interrogatives) either on their own or in combination (see Jaworski's (1994) 'unprototypical apologies'). Having said that, I must stress that whereas some do not convey any kind of regret or sympathy (as in example 58), others can, in one way or another, fulfil the illocutionary forces equivalent to those prototypical (direct) apologies carry, as in examples 59 and 60.

Example 58 (situation 1)
Peter: Carol, could you please repeat yourself after you've calmed down?

Example 59 (situation 8)
Louise: [Sighed] How rude people can be these days! Are you alright?

Example 60 (situation 2)
Gloria: Denis, I'm so terribly embarrassed. I seem to have forgotten to bring my present.

Example 61 (situation 14)
James: I think I've found those glasses you've lost.

Despite the utterance in example 59 not being identifiable as one of Holmes's remedial moves, it can be an alternative strategy of offence redress. In example 60, the first sentence is a C1 sub-strategy, whereas the second sentence is a C2 sub-strategy. Again, though without an explicit apology, this conversational pair can, in my view, be considered a suitable token in showing that the speaker was regretful about the infringement she caused. Non-production of explicit apologies may have to do with the questionnaire methodology. Only two conversational turns being offered may have delimited the respondents' intuitions. In my estimation, in examples 58 to 60, explicit apologies could have been forthcoming if more turns were given, on top of which there would be a good chance for more complete apology speech act sets to be written down.

Another important issue relates to the degree of seriousness of offence in the dialogue items in DC(B)s. Observational data predominantly concerned light offences, but with written questionnaires, we could go beyond that limitation and gain insights into topics having to do with more serious infringements. Holmes (1990) states that the graver the encroachment, the more combinations of strategies will be resorted to. This view has been influential, even though it is not applicable to some of my dialogue items. It is apparent from the experiment that burping is regarded as a minor offence; that is why a majority of apology patterns that followed it were extremely brief, and sometimes no answer was provided. Yet, this does not always mean that the heavier offences (e.g. causing someone to drop their files or accidentally breaking others' spectacles) would induce more elaborate apology speech act sets. For instance, situations 3, 8 and 13, and situations 10, 15 and 18 can be evaluated as medium infractions, but some responses were not as lengthy as one would anticipate (as in example 59). Situations 4, 12 and 14 involve heavy offences. It is assumed that causing damage to others' possessions would evoke a combination of strategies of redress. This holds true in most situations, but there were two instances in which no explicit expression of apology was offered, such as in example 61. The choice of remedial interchanges is susceptible to the interplay between some interpersonal variables as well, and it is that issue that we will now explore further.

6.4.1.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Written Apologies

All imaginary characters in DC(B)s were designed to have no social distance (e.g. friends and colleagues). This enables us to counterbalance the findings from the fieldnote data (which were obtained overwhelmingly from stranger interactions), and to examine in more detail variation with regard to apologies between people with different status roles.

An attempt was made to locate speech patterns typical of status equals and unequals in a remedial interchange. But it soon emerged that a clearly defined distinction hardly featured in the questionnaires, and that apology strategies were often used interchangeably between, say, individuals of the same hierarchy and also people of asymmetrical status. I cannot avoid having to hypothesise that the need to apologise is determined by the correlation between the severity of offence, the relevant type of infraction and also on the social standing of participants. In all dialogue items, none of these factors predominates over another completely. This is, perhaps, the thorniest area to deal with in apology enactment (see 6.3.1.4). Sometimes when light offences were involved, offenders of a higher social hierarchy should have apologised to their inferiors, but simply chose not to do so. A few instances are given in example 58 (superior to inferior) and example 62 (teacher to student).

Example 62 (situation 13)
Denise: What are you doing outside class, Daniel?

Example 63 (situation 9)
Vanessa: Could you repeat that please, Madam?

In five different DC(B)s, situations 1 and 13 seem the least likely instances that would call forth direct speech acts of apologising. It is still not very clear whether the informants did not find apologies to be necessary in these situations because the offence was rather trivial, or because it would appear too self-humbling to utter apologies downwards. Likewise, it is a matter of guesswork to judge whether apologies were not given upwards because inferior individuals forgot to do so or because they were too scared to admit causing an offence to those above them, as in example 63 (sales person to customer).

Based on 279 dialogue items, which contained at least one direct speech act, written apology data also aimed at describing the choice of address forms between interactants. The findings were quantitatively ranked along the power dimensions of the offender and the offended person.

In status equal encounters (situations 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 and 17), the apologisers did not normally use address forms. However, when they did, the apologisees were addressed with forms typical of this kind of relationship, that is the offenders were addressed with FNs between five to nine times (no other variation of address forms (e.g. LN, TLN, title only) were utilised). Additionally, *Michael* was shortened to *Mike* twice, *Patricia* was shortened to *Pat* nine times and *Trish* once; *Anthony* was shortened to *Tony* once; and *Andrew* was

shortened to *Andy* four times. I have not found a single situation of *Nelson* being contracted, though there was one instance of the solidarity-indicating address form *mate* directed at him, as shown in example 64.

Example 64 (situation 17)
Michael: Sorry, mate. I clean forgot to bring anything.

Situation 7 (the burping scenario) did not call forth the use of address form; it could be that the respondents thought that it was embarrassing enough to commit a social gaffe like this and that using address forms would make the offence even more pronounced.

In power-differing encounters, the use of address forms was more wide-ranging in apologies given upwards than between status equals (situations 3, 4, 5, 9, 16, 18), inclusive of not only FNs, but also TLNs and titles only. The two characters who were addressed with terms specific to their occupations and high status only were *Geoffrey Grosvenor* (as a priest) and *Tony Sinclair* (as an army general); *Reverend* and *Sir* were among a few terms used as frequently as ten times for both apologisees, as in examples 65 and 66.

Example 65 (situation 3)
Thomas: Oh, Reverend. Do excuse me. Let me help you pick these up.

Example 66 (situation 16)
Philip: I'm terribly sorry, sir.

Example 67 (situation 18)
Patrick: I'm so sorry, Mr Williams. I was stuck in traffic for ages.

Example 68 (situation 5)
Barbara: I'm sorry, Edward. But I forgot to bring my present.

Powerful people other than the two mentioned were sometimes addressed with their TLNs within the region of one to six times, as in example 67, and some other times with FNs between twice and seven times, as in example 68. There seems to be no consistency in the use of address forms in apologies given to superiors. This proposal tends to relate to formality of specific dialogue items; in the informal gathering in situation 5, *Edward O'Brian* was called by his FN four times and even by the shortened version *Ed* once. This shows that familiarity may have prevailed over status dominance between the two speakers in this scenario.

Lastly, insofar as downward apologies are concerned (situations 1, 2, 11, 13, 14 and 15), terms of address from people of a higher power status tended to correlate exclusively with FN patterns (quite similar to the finding reported earlier on symmetrical exchanges).

Example 69 (situation 15)
Norman: I'm sorry, Em. The traffic was terrible this morning.

All simulated speakers were addressed by their FNs variedly between five and 15 times, except *Angela Noble* to whom no address forms were directed (also the burping scenario).

There are two characters (*Melanie Davis* and *Emma Smith*) whose names were shortened to *Mel* three times and *Em* twice, as in example 69.

6.4.1.3 Written Apology Responses

British English DCs have 360 dialogue items, among which only 279 involve one or more direct speech acts of apologising. It is on the responses to these 279 situations that I will focus in this section. I divided written apology responding strategies into six broad categories, as is the case with the natural data (see 6.3.1.6). Table 6.10 reports the results from both data sets. In this experiment, the most preferred way of giving responses to apologies was by means of the A type (accepting without reluctance), featuring a little more than half of all explicit written apologies (142 instances or 50.9%), as in example 70. This can be interpreted in the light of Brown and Levinson's theory: my questionnaire informants had a great tendency to forgive the offenders by accepting apologies (positive politeness), although doing so threatened the negative face wants of the offenders, who were obliged to accept their own faults (see 6.3.1.6).

Table 6.10 Written British English Apology Responses

Response Types	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. Accept	**142 (50.9%)**	54 (23.7%)
B. Acknowledge	**15 (5.4%)**	5 (2.2%)
C. Reject	**24 (8.6%)**	—
D. Evade	**63 (22.6%)**	43 (18.9%)
E. No response provided/expected	**23 (8.2%)**	112 (49.1%)
F. Other	**12 (4.3%)**	14 (6.1%)
Total	**279 (100%)**	228 (100%)

Example 70 (situation 4)
Charles: I'm afraid your glasses are smashed. I'll replace them. Tell me where you got them from.
Victor: That's OK. I've got 2 spare pairs. Don't worry. Sit down.

The next most frequent response strategy was the D type (evading with informative comments), which involved 63 instances (22.6%). The third most regular strategy was the C type (reject), encompassing 24 instances (8.6%). Other less regular response types in the written experiment were the E type (where informants either opted out or stated they preferred not to say anything) (23 instances or 8.2%), then the B type (15 instances or 5.4%), and the least commonly used strategy was the F type (12 instances or 4.3%).

According to table 6.10, it is necessary to recognise that the written findings do not parallel very well with the naturally occurring ones: elicited responses indicate that informants mostly utilised the A and D types, while almost half of the observational responses suggest that the apologisees preferred to say nothing after an offensive event.

Differences in the research methods adopted may provide some clues as to such inconsistencies. We have seen that ethnographic data hinge very much on short interchanges and trivial offences. On the other hand, replies provided in 20 DC(B)s were based more on long interchanges (and in which intensifications of infractions varied a lot more). Taking the percentages elicited for the E type as an example, it should become clear that whereas 49.1% of the observational apologies were not accompanied by responses, only 8.2% of written apologies were not provided with answers. In line with my discussion in 6.4.1.1, it is probable that the informants were pressurised by the nature of the questionnaire distribution such that they felt forced to think that something had to be written down on the blank space, which does not necessarily hold with real-life usage.

6.4.2 Thai Questionnaire Data

6.4.2.1 Written Thai Apology Strategies

The results of the analysis of written Thai apologies elicited from 20 copies of DC(B)s (with 360 available dialogue situations) are presented in table 6.11.

Table 6.11 Strategies of Written Thai Apologies

Apology Strategies	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. An explicit display of apology		
A01 *khɔ̌ɔthôod* (general)	**232 (39.3%)** (performatives=63) (formulae=169)	120 (60.6%) (performatives=5) (formulae=115)
A02 *khɔ̌ɔprathaanthôod* (formal, super-deferential)	**24 (4.1%)** (performatives=5) (formulae=19)	8 (4%) (performatives=4) (formulae=4)
A03 *khɔ̌ɔ'aphaj* (formal, deferential)	**4 (0.7%)** (performative=1) (formulae=3)	5 (2.5%) (performative=1) (formulae=4)
A04 Other combination	**3 (0.5%)** (performatives=2) (formula=1)	1(0.5%)
B. An explanation or account	**108 (18.3%)**	25 (12.6%)
C. An acceptance of responsibility		
C1 Accepting the blame	**42 (7.1%)**	—
C2 Expressing self-deficiency	**116 (19.7%)**	24 (12.1%)
C3 Recognising B as deserving apology	—	—
C4 Expressing lack of intent	**12 (2%)**	5 (2.5%)
C5 Offering repair/redress	**49 (8.3%)**	10 (5.1%)
D. A promise of forbearance	—	—
Total	**590 (100%)**	198 (100%)

Of these, I have singled out 265 dialogue items (which contained at least one explicit apology), containing 590 individual remedial moves. The remaining 95 dialogue items were

excluded from the quantitative analysis, since they contained no explicit apology formula or no response.

Table 6.11 compares both the elicited and natural data, and reveals some interesting points. In terms of explicit written apologies, the most often used were expressions belonging to the A01 sub-type, which consisted of the keyword *khɔ̌ɔthôod* (232 instances or 39.3%), as in example 71. Recall that this IFID can function either as a performative verb or a routine formula, and also can be shortened to *thôod* in situations with low formality (see 6.3.2.1). In the questionnaires, only the A01 strategy was contracted, representing 16 out of 232 instances (cf. 78 out of 120 in the fieldnote data) – another support to the assertion that questionnaire administration is generally regarded by respondents as rather formal speech events. Other sub-types of explicit apologies (e.g. A02, A03) featured very infrequently by comparison. However, a noteworthy finding involves the A04 (other) sub-strategy, which has three instances of an explicit apology expression not encountered earlier in the natural data; example 72 is one of the illustrations that incorporated an A04 expression *khɔ̌ɔphrathaan$^{?}$aphaj* (literally meaning 'asking to be given forgiveness') (cf. 6.3.2.1).

Example 71 (situation 1)
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod ná khráb/ chûaj lâw ry̌an hâj faŋ $^{?}$ìigkhráŋ dăj máj/
sorry SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP^{1}/ HELP RECOUNT story GIVE LISTEN one more time able SFP$^{2.2}$/
A: 'Excuse me. Can you repeat the incident for me, please'?

Example 72 (situation 3)
A: khɔ̌ɔphrathaan$^{?}$aphaj khɔ̌ɔráb lŭaŋphɔ̂ɔ/ kraphŏm muatèɛ rîib/ klua ca mâj
sorry SFP^{1} abbot/ I carelessly HASTEN/ FEAR FTR not
than phrá thêed/
in time monk PREACH/
A: 'Please do excuse me, Your Grace. I was in such a rush to get here. I was worried I would be late for the service'.

This utterance denotes a very high level of formality as well as deference towards the addressee, and was chosen only for use in situation 3, where an apology was to be directed to the abbot of a Buddhist temple (N.B. monks are placed at a higher position than commoners in the hierarchy spectrum in Thai culture; see 2.3.1.2). Apart from these direct speech acts, other subsidiary remedial moves found in the experiment were the C2 sub-type (116 instances or 19.7%) and the B type (108 instances or 18.3%).

Example 73 (situation 12)
A: sŏomsudaa/ chán phlɔ̌ɔ $^{?}$aw krapăw paj tháb wêɛn thəə/ sŏŋsăj man
FN/ I mistakenly GET bag GO OVERLAY glasses you/ SUSPECT it
ca tèɛg léɛw là/ tɔ̂ŋ khɔ̌ɔthôod jàaŋmăag ləəj/ dĭaw chán ca chódcháj
FTR BREAK PST SFP$^{2.1}$/ must sorry really SFP$^{2.1}$/ soon I FTR COMPENSATE
hâj ná/
GIVE SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'Somsudaa, I have put my bag on top of your glasses by accident. I guess they're broken. I can't apologise enough. I will compensate for the damage'.

These were followed by other less regular strategies: the C5 (49 instances or 8.3%), C1 (42 instances or 7.1%) and C4 (12 instances or 2%) sub-types. Example 73 illustrates a written apology speech act set that includes four identifiable moves for redress (that is C2, B, A01, C5 subsequently).

Yet other results can be spotted in table 6.11. In contrasting both sets of data, we can see that the figures and frequencies of distribution are similar. The A01 sub-type was the most frequently employed, then either B or C2 sub-types. In other words, it is considered common for Thai people to apologise using the explicit apology expression *khɔ̌ɔthôod*, in conjunction with an account as to how the offence came about and/or an utterance showing self-deficiency. Additionally, the moves that did not feature at all in these two respective samples belong to the C3 sub-type and the D type. For example, interestingly, the C3 sub-type was another remedial move that Holmes (1990, 1995) came across (however very low in frequency) in her New Zealand English apologies; however, comparing this against table 6.9, we will find that not only British but also Thai respondents never opted for recognising the offenders as being entitled to an apology (C3 sub-type).

6.4.2.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Written Thai Apologies

Using responses elicited from 265 dialogue items in 20 copies of Thai DC(B)s as a baseline, we shall now be looking at the effects of relationships on the choice of address forms, terms of reference, and sentence final particles in written remedial interchanges. These linguistic features are essential clues to the understanding of how apologies can be a power play between interactants.

Utterances given in the DCs were coded according to relative power difference between imaginary characters. With reference to status equals (situations 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 and 17), my analysis provides the following results. Address terms were commonly used in all these six dialogue items. To a quite varying extent, the apologisees in each dialogue item were addressed with TFNs between two and seven times (for example, *khun Kiattiyos*, *khun Somphol*, *khun Metha*, and *khun Manas*), with their FNs between one to nine times (for example, *Kiattiyos*, *Somphol*, *Metha*, *Suwit*, *Somsudaa* and *Manas*) and with shortened versions of their FNs between twice and three times (for example, *Wit* and *Som* or *Sudaa*), as in example 74.

Example 74 (situation 12)
A: wáaj/ taathĕenhòg/ sɔ̌omsudaa cá/ chán tham wêɛntaa thɔ̀ɔ tɛ̀ɛg nà/ khɔ̌ɔthôod
INT/ INT/ FN SFP^{21}/ I DO glasses you broken SFP^{21}/ sorry
ná/ chán mâj dâj tâŋcaj/
SFP^{21}/ I HAVE not INTEND/
A: 'Shit! God damn! Somsudaa, I have shattered your specs. Sorry, I didn't mean to'.

Example 75 (situation 8)
A: thôod ná/ chán mâj đâj tâŋcaj/ đïaw kèb hâj/
sorry SFP[2 1]/ I HAVE not INTEND/ soon PICK GIVE/
A: 'Sorry, I didn't mean to push. I'll get them'.

In terms of personal reference, all pronouns were of a non-power laden nature, indicating social equilibrium between speakers. The most frequently used self-reference pronouns were *phŏm* (17 times), *chăn* (32 times), *raw* (8 times) and *dichăn* (4 times); and the most regular second-person pronouns were *khun* (16 times), *thəə* (16 times) and *tua[?]eeŋ* (3 times). The most frequently chosen SFPs were either those representing high levels of solidarity such as *ná* (68 times) and *cá* (8 times), or those characteristic of rather formal situations such as *khà* (27 times) and *khráb* (26 times). The combinations *ná khráb* (12 times) and *ná khá* (17 times) were also encountered. Example 75 illustrates an elicited apology in a power-equal encounter (i.e. pushing another colleague on the corridor and causing his files to drop), where the style was quite informal and the register not elaborate.

In circumstances where informants were induced to write down apologies to individuals of higher status (situations 3, 4, 5, 9, 16 and 18), my analysis shows a difference quite marked from what we have just discussed with regard to the circumstances between status equals. The most obvious point of contrast is the total absence of the use of FNs in all dialogue items, which shows my Thai informants' sensitivity to a rule of Thai address forms that superiors are not to be called by their FNs alone. Instead, the imaginary apologisees were addressed by HONs only (that is *thân*, 'sir' or 'madam') between three to ten times, TFNs (for example, *khun Chaiporn, khun Paisarn, khun Nittaya, khun Chamnaan*, and *khun Adul*) between four to nine times, or occupational titles between one and ten times.

Example 76 (situation 3)
A: khŏophrathaanthôod khráb lŭaŋphôɔ/ đïaw kraphŏm ca kèb hâj khráb/
sorry SFP[1] abbot/ soon I FTR PICK GIVE SFP[1]/
A: 'I do apologise, father. I will pick them up for you'.

In situation 3, the Buddhist monastery abbot (equivalent to situation 3 in DC(B)s for British English apologies), was called by seven different deferential forms of address specific to his position in the ecclesiastical circle, among which the most common term *lŭaŋphôɔ* ('abbot') was used seven times, as in example 76. The self-reference pronouns found almost entirely encompassed only formal variants and those atypical among status equals. The female first-person pronoun *dichăn* was used 23 times; the male first-person pronoun *phŏm* was used 75 times and *kraphŏm* six times. There is a complex plethora of Thai second-person pronouns (also very formal), with eight variants, each of which occurred quite infrequently. However, of all these, the most common one was *khun* (17 times). Moving on, the SFPs that I elicited

were entirely those belonging to the formal end of stylistic continuum such as *khráb* (25 times) and *khà* (15 times). The two regularly occurring combinations were *ná khráb* for male offenders (34 times) and *ná khá* for female offenders (25 times)

In exchanges of apologies given downwards (situations 1, 2, 11, 13, 14 and 15), the distribution of grammatical units is very similar to what I have already reported with apologies between social equals, that is the style of language is very solidarity-oriented (though formal in a few places). Address terms were hardly used (between 1 and 3 times for each dialogue item), except in situations 13 (*Piti*, 9 times) and 15 (*khun Ornanong*, 7 times). Most first-person pronouns are the formal, distant-neutral and power-neutral ones, among which *phŏm* (30 times) and *dichăn* (10 times) were the most frequently chosen. Second-person pronouns were used very sporadically, but the variant that was most often used was *khun* (occurring between 2 and 12 times). Of note is a conventionalised pair of self- and other-reference pronouns used by the teacher and student in situation 13, where only the term *khruu* ('teacher') and *thəə* ('I' used between friends and to inferiors) were employed (24 and 6 times, respectively). Example 77 shows an instance in which the female teacher apologised to her male student.

Example 77 (situation 13)
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod ná pìtì/ khruu mâjthan rawaŋ/ thəə pen ʔaraj rýplàw cá/
sorry SFP$^{2.1}$ FN/ teacher have not careful/ you BE what SFP$^{2.2}$ SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'Sorry, Piti. I wasn't looking. Are you alright'?

As regards SFPs, the male and polite variants (*khráb* and *khà*) were employed quite irregularly in comparison to dialogue items where apologies were between equals and from social inferiors. The male variant *khráb* was used seven times and the female variant *khà* nine times. The combinations *ná khráb* were used five times and *ná khá* seven times. The solidarity-marking SFP *cá* alone entered as many as 16 times. Collectively, the sporadic occurrence of these grammatical elements in downward apologies may imply that social superiors were aware of having more power than those below them and, as a result, tended to maintain distance by adopting less elaboration and less formality in register and style of their speech. Dialogue item 1 is a case in point; it was the situation in which a direct speech act of apologising did not feature at all in as many as 14 copies of DC(B)s.

6.4.2.3 Responses to Written Thai Apologies

Based on 265 dialogue items in which at least one explicit apology was included, my analysis of written Thai apologies is displayed in table 6.12.

Table 6.12 Responding to Written Thai Apologies

Response Types	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. Accept	**170 (64.2%)**	30 (22.9%)
B. Acknowledge	**13 (4.9%)**	3 (2.3%)
C. Reject	**10 (3.8%)**	5 (3.8%)
D. Evade	**48 (18.1%)**	36 (27.5%)
E. No response provided/expected	**8 (3%)**	55 (42%)
F. Other	**16 (6%)**	2 (1.5%)
Total	**265 (100%)**	131 (100%)

The results show that the most regularly used responding strategy was the A type; there were as many as 170 instances (64.2%) where the imaginary apologisees sought to placate the offensive action with the formulaic expression of granting forgiveness *mâjpenraj* (literally meaning 'never mind') or its equivalents, as in example 78. The frequency of distribution of other strategies plummets below 'accepting apologies'. The D type (evade) was the second most frequent response strategy (48 instances or 18.1%), followed by the F type (16 instances or 6%), the B type (13 instances or 4.9%) and the C type (10 instances or 3.8%). The E type appears to be the least common of all responding devices (8 instances or 3%).

Example 78 (situation 5)
A: khɔ̌ɔthôod ná khá/ phɔɔdii dichán lyym thɤ̌y khɔ̌ɔŋkhwăn maa dûaj khà/
sorry SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/ actually I FORGET CARRY present COME also SFP[1]/
B: mâjpenraj khráb/ ŋángɔ̂ɔ hăa ʔaraj thaan kɔ̀ɔn diikwàa/
never mind SFP[1]/ therefore SEEK what EAT before better/
A: 'I'm sorry I forgot to bring the present along'.
B: 'Don't worry. Please help yourself to the food'.

In line with what I have discussed in 6.4.1.3, the fact that natural and elicited apology responses do not point to the same results perhaps has an explanation in the different research methodologies. Put differently, spontaneous apologies were overwhelmingly not provided with identifiable responses, but the opposite is true with elicited apologies where nearly three quarters of them were accepted. Having said that, with regard to both Thai data sets, it can be generalised that Thai people (as well as British people on the whole) had a high potential to forgive apologisers who were responsible for committing social infringements, rather than to overtly snub them. Across cultures (that is British and Thai), interactants co-operated quite well in sidestepping the offensive issues for the sake of maintenance of friendship, which otherwise could have eventually been severed.

6.5 Conclusions

Apologies, like compliments, are expressive speech acts as well as FSAs (face-saving acts). Both are linguistic strategies that aid in the maintenance of interpersonal communication.

Compliments attribute the valued 'good' to those who receive them. While doing a similar job, apologies additionally reflect self-evaluation, as 'bad' on the part of the speakers and convey respect and non-imposition (Bergman and Kasper, 1993). Between those whose social connection has already been established, compliments are discourse components that are not as necessary as apologies, considering the situations when both should be called for. It is hardly the case that someone would be too much bothered (but see Manes, 1983) if no compliment was given to them after having achieved an object of praise. Compliments are pleasing to the ear and an ego boost. With or without compliment offering, the relationship should be able to continue. By contrast, after having caused an object of offence, the offenders are held accountable to offer apologies through one means or another. Since objects of offence are an obstacle to interaction, they must be removed before the relationship can be resumed and carry on smoothly (see Barnlund and Yoshioka, 1990: 204).

Apologies are typical conversational routines in English-speaking communities, according to the findings from my study and earlier research. Strategies associated with the remedial interchanges are formulaic in terms of their grammatical structures (explicit apologies) and by their strategic intent (other supplementary strategies). Different analysts hold their own views of what speech forms can be deployed to serve the function of showing regret. Whether explicit verbal apologies must be produced or whether simply giving explanations or blaming oneself is adequate redress is incumbent on the researcher's personal judgements. As I understand it, the production of apologies is determined by the impact of the D, P and R variables *plus* the topics of the apology in question. To restore endangered harmony, possibly any one of the A, B, C and D categories may be adequate, but if we specifically want to apologise, at least one variant from the A category must be used.

Apart from their structural regularities, English apologies were distributed with similar frequencies across the speech communities, not only in terms of their topics of offence, but also their communicative and discourse organising functions. The natural data from both my and Holmes's corpora point to the fact that the effect of the solidarity and power of informants was evenly distributed in Britain and in New Zealand. In brief, apologising behaviour in the two countries was most common among people with some social distance and those who had an equality in power. Nevertheless, an overwhelming number of British English apologies related to light offences, whereas New Zealand English apologies were either lightly or moderately weighted. Regarding gender issues, my and Holmes's data are not mutually correspondent, despite the similar sizes of our samples. While the apologies in my corpus were given most frequently from women to men, Holmes's data were used almost exclusively by women in their own gender group. This may be illustrative of cross-cultural differences between these two English-speaking societies. Recall that gender variation in British and New Zealand compliments also differed. My data

also do not closely parallel Holmes's when it comes to apology responses: New Zealanders were much more verbally expressive and more explicitly forgiving than British people.

In line with Olshtain and Cohen's (1989: 60) speculation, I would confirm that Thailand is a positive politeness culture, given its scarcity of explicit expressions of apologies. Apologies in Thai were not as recurrent as in British English and they have a smaller range of formulae. This implies that Thai people do not generally call for redressive action after offensive speech events, perhaps because they feel too embarrassed about the unpleasant feelings that may ensue. The limited range of functions of Thai apologies also seem to lend convincing support to this proposal. This can be contrasted with negative politeness cultures (such as Britain, as many have suggested), where people have more propensity to use apologies; because they view social frictions as a normal part of everyday life, apologies play an essential role in the remedial process. Further, we have seen that Thai apologies were used on the same topics as British English ones, with a slightly different order of distribution. An interesting cultural note has to do with the social gaffe offence in Thai culture, which incorporates more acts considered wrongdoings (e.g. disrespect to seniors by inappropriate body postures). Thai apologies synchronise well with British ones only with respect to the P variable; the acts of admitting guilt were most commonplace between status equals. However, with the D variable, apologies were most frequent among strangers for the first data set, but among friends for the second. Apologies were rarely given downwards. With the age variable, Thai apologies were exchanged equally frequently between age peers and from younger people. The distribution of offence weight in both countries points to the same results: most apologies involved light offences. There are no distinctive trends in apologies by Thai men and women. Examining response strategies, my Thai and British data are very much in tune: most apologies were either accepted or evaded.

The written data from the two sets of DC(B)s indicate that my British and Thai respondents exhibited matching attitudes about how to redress social infractions: they would put an emphasis on explicitly apologising and then would opt for other remedial strategies such as explanations or expressions of self-blame. With regard to the social standing of the invented characters, my questionnaire informants were well aware of whether or not to apologise and of how to employ suitable speech forms to meet the requirements of specific role relationships. Findings of written apologies are very consistent with results from natural findings, except in one respect: elicited responses consisted entirely of accepting apologies, whereas natural ones were most often not provided with identifiable answers. It is possible that the elicited responses concerned norms of behaviour to which actual behaviour does not necessarily conform. This issue deserves to be re-investigated in future research, so that these inconsistencies can be overcome and perhaps accounted for with a more powerful explanatory approach.

CHAPTER 7

The Speech Act of Thanking

7.1 Preliminary Considerations

In chapters 5 and 6, we have seen that compliments and apologies are speech acts that have been investigated by a number of scholars of linguistic politeness. The fact that these two expressives have been described in so much depth easily leads one into neglecting other formulae with similar social functions of conveying attitudes and displaying sensitivity between interactants. Undoubtedly, it would be an obvious understatement if one presumed that people simply confined themselves to 'praising' and 'expressing regret' to one another. In the present chapter, I have taken another direction by exploring another expressive, the speech act of thanking, from cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives. Thanking behaviour has been referred to in various studies as comparable to other verbal strategies (for instance, Owen, 1983; Watts et al., 1992; Sifianou, 1992; Jaworski, 1994; Holmes, 1995; Spencer-Oatey, 2000). However, research directly addressing this area is sparse. For the last three decades, the most often cited publications are: Apte, 1974; Greif and Gleason, 1980; Coulmas, 1981; Becker and Smenner, 1986; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, 1993; Aston, 1995; and Aijmer, 1996. These works have a narrow scope of enquiry, and we still await information on the sociolinguistic aspects of thanks and a more integrative analysis within the tradition of linguistic politeness. Partly grounded on the output of other researchers, my study has its focus on how it is that thanking behaviour is performed in British English and Thai societies. It also aims at bridging and filling some gaps left open by previous research.

7.2 Defining Thanks

In line with other basic politeness formulae (notably *please*; *excuse me*; *good morning*), parents and caretakers in English-speaking communities sensitise their children to a variety of expressions of gratitude very early in life so that the youngsters can ultimately take their place as competent members of society (Ferguson, 1976). What seems to make these mentors so concerned about passing on such routinised expressions could be that internalisation would add to the smoothness of interpersonal relations and indicate that interactants who use them appropriately are conforming to the conventions of 'good breeding' (Norrick, 1978: 285).

Taking a more theoretical approach, giving thanks can be regarded as a speech event where interactants negotiate mutual face wants (Goffman, 1955). A speaker can redress an FTA by explicitly claiming his/her gratefulness to a hearer. In other words, the favour incurred is a 'threat' to the speaker's negative face, in that it forces the speaker to acknowledge that he/she owes the hearer some debt (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 67). This sometimes results in the speaker him/herself no longer having absolute liberty of action (Coupland et al., 1988: 254). The same favour takes the role of an enhancement to the hearer's negative face on the grounds that his/her good deed is paid off, and the speaker recognises this by showing respect for the beneficial act he/she has performed. Spencer-Oatey (2000: 36) states that 'if someone does a favour to a friend, a slight disequilibrium results, with a greater favour leading to a greater imbalance'. She goes on to comment that gratitude expressions are related to apologies in some important respects, because both restore equilibrium among people: apologies are intended to redress offences, whereas thanks are destined to make up for debts (see also Watts, 1992). While it is not worth worrying about someone who does not compliment others, a person may be considered rude or impolite if he/she does not use apologies and thanks when expected to. According to these views, it can be said that thanking is avoidance-based behaviour (like apologies), and thus is central to negative politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 210). Nevertheless, Holmes (1990: 158; 1995: 144) posits that thanking is incorporated along the dimension of positive politeness. She gives no justification nor does she discuss this account in more detail, apart from suggesting that thanks do a similar job to compliments and invitations. It seems to me that, by having recourse to *any* politeness device, one attends to maintaining relationships (or 'managing rapport', in Spencer-Oatey's words) with others to start with – a fundamental stage in the analysis that could result in an utterance being labelled either positively or negatively polite. When a useful distinction is in order, there is no denying that the speech act of thanking lies conspicuously within the sphere of negative politeness, given that it is characterised by 'self-effacement, formality and restraint', where the face wants of the hearers must be recognised and respected (see Brown and Levinson, 1987: 70).

In Searle's (1969) classification, a definition of thanking behaviour dictates that utterances showing recognition of debt must be limited to those that refer only to a past act (done by the hearer) for their propositional content and sincerity condition to be proposed. Norrick (1978: 285) supports this conception and explains that 'thanking someone in advance [future act] for a service which has yet to be performed is defective as an illocutionary act'. Aijmer (1996: 35) also shares a similar opinion, and so do Bergman and Kasper (1993: 83), who have provided a table that describes all 'actional features' of four expressives (i.e. compliments, thanks, complaints and apologies) as occurring 'post-event'. Nevertheless, as I see the matter pragmatically, their disregarding future acts pinpoints the

fact that these analysts have relied too strictly on the sincerity condition, which sometimes can misrepresent natural discourse (cf. Wierzbicka, 1986). This is clear for cases of compliments and apologies. If only certain precepts are to be assumed, it is likely that one cannot categorically substantiate whether compliments and apologies tell us about the speakers' real intentions regarding sincerity and truthfulness (whether they are not just pretending to flatter or to be regretful). In addition, compliments and apologies do not always necessarily relate to preceding events only, and this is why it is not uncommon to hear utterances such as *I'm sure you'll do a perfect job* (indirect compliment) and *excuse me* (ritualistic apology) (see 5.2 and 6.3.1.2). This speculation is equally applicable to thanks, the main thrust of this chapter. The actional features as well as sincerity condition mapped out by speech act theorists are good as they stand as a general guideline. My personal conviction is however that gratitude expressions can encompass both finished and potential acts, as long as it is apparent from the context of speaking that an utterance operates as an act of thanking by its function, and that the speaker feels appreciative of what the hearer has done or has shown some probability of performing (or 'putting the speaker in his/her debt') in an imminent time frame (as in *thank you for not smoking* and *could you remain absolutely silent? Thanks*).

Jaworski (1994) warns us against the danger of 'gross oversimplification' if linguists keep busily analysing the formulaicity of utterances, because they then take for granted variation in indirectness in face-to-face interpersonal negotiation. This is an important suggestion that I cannot afford to overlook. Unfortunately, my selected data collection procedure is to look for patterns of usage (in other words, it is 'quantitative' rather than qualitative), and this has not enabled me to follow his advice to the full. We shall see, however, for example in 7.3.1 that, although having utterance formulaicity as a starting point, I also acknowledge different levels of directness and indirectness in each 'gratitude move'. I have chosen not to include in my data utterances that serve other communicative goals than expressing gratitude (in particular, sarcasm) in the hope of concentrating exclusively on the manifestation of thanking illocutionary forces.

7.3 Observational Findings

7.3.1 Thanks in British English

As far as I am aware, Aijmer (1996) is the only study that accounts for the realisation of thanks in British English. In this part of the chapter, I shall pay attention to analysing the data from my own corpus and, wherever necessary, also discuss my findings in conjunction with Aijmer's in order to shed further light on this underinvestigated expressive speech act.

7.3.1.1 Strategies of Thanking Routines

Many researchers have contended that, to achieve a well-rounded treatment of a speech act phenomenon, some fundamental steps are to explore verbal strategies by observing their use in natural settings and then to identify their forms and illocutionary forces. Once this is done, we can use the spontaneous speech as a benchmark for data obtained by other research procedures (see, for instance, Wolfson et al., 1989; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993). Having been stimulated by a two-pronged approach to data collection (Wolfson, 1986: Holmes, 1990), I have attempted to follow these calls in my study (see 3.4 and 7.4).

Among previous research, Aijmer (1996) considers thanking behaviour at the greatest length from a discourse analytic point of view. Like her work on apologies (discussed in chapter 6), her results were taken from authentic recordings of the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC). Aijmer believes that thanks can be broken down into eight categories, according to the degrees of implicitness/explicitness on the one hand, and of emotionality (or 'expressiveness', as she calls it) on the other hand. In their analyses of American English expressions of gratitude, Eisenstein and Bodman (1986, 1993) hint at several strategies, and Spencer-Oatey (2000), in reviewing them, identifies seven strategies in total. The strategy labels that the above analysts have used are practical suggestions. However, I would like to put forward another set of five strategies based on these earlier works and the criteria entertained in the notion of speech act sets (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983, 1989).

My coding scheme begins by identifying three major explicit expressions for showing gratitude (or head acts) under the A1, A2 and A3 headings – the mandatory syntactic components guaranteeing those utterances that are to be considered as 'thanks'. Apart from these routinised formulae, native speakers of British English also appeared to rely on other strategic utterances under the B, C, D and E headings, which take the role of indirect speech acts and supplement the force of the head acts.

A total number of 300 exchanges of thanks I collected amount to 405 gratitude expressions of different kinds (or 'gratitude moves', in my own terminology), as shown in table 7.1. I shall discuss explicit thanks first and then implicit thanks. The A super-strategy concerns direct speech acts. In terms of frequency, the A2 sub-strategy (offer of gratitude), as one might anticipate, was the most preferred device for displaying gratitude, occurring 308 times (76%) or in slightly more than three quarters of all gratitude moves. Largely consisting of elliptical expressions, some were common to most varieties of English (e.g. *thank you* (168 times); *thanks* (93 times); *many thanks* (2 times)), while others were unique to British English (e.g. *cheers* (39 times) and *ta* (6 times)). These core features are illustrated

in examples 1, 2, 3 and 4. The A1 sub-strategy (use of performative) is associated with a formal speech event and incorporates a first-person subject and a performative verb, which together show that the person producing this utterance feels grateful towards the addressee (see Leech, 1983: 206).

Table 7.1 Thanking Strategies

Thanking Strategies	Examples	N=
A. An explicit expression of gratitude		
A1 Use of performative	*I thank; I appreciate.*	4 (1%)
A2 Offer of gratitude	*Thanks; thank you; cheers; ta.*	308 (76%)
A3 Expressing indebtedness	*Much obliged; I am grateful.*	4 (1%)
B. An account or acknowledgement of favour	*Keep the change; fingers crossed; I've just followed the instructions.*	35 (8.6%)
C. An expression of admiration		
C1 Admiration of the act	*It was lovely; I enjoyed it.*	23 (5.7%)
C2 Admiration of the addressee	*God bless; you did well.*	24 (5.9%)
D. An indication of unnecessity of favour	*You shouldn't have.*	3 (0.7%)
E. A promise of repayment	*Next time the bill will be on me.*	4 (1%)
Total		**405 (100%)**

Example 1
A landlady thanking her tenant for volunteering to carry a vacuum cleaner up the stairs.
A: Thanks a lot. You've saved my legs.
B: No problem.

Example 2
A thanking B, a fellow train passenger, for helping him lifting a trolley onto the compartment.
A: Thank you.
B: [Smiled].

Example 3
A had been given some coins by B (his friend) to buy a drink from the bar, but came back empty-handed.
A: There you go!
B: Cheers, mate.

Example 4
A selling a newspaper to B in front of a railway station.
A: Evening Standard? 35p, please.
B: Ta.

In my data, this strategy was far less common, featuring as infrequently as four times (1%). Only the verbs THANK (3 times) and APPRECIATE (once) were used, as illustrated in examples 5 and 6.

Example 5
The father of a kidnapped child addressing a chief constable on television after the arrest of criminals.
A: I would like to thank all the police officers for what they've done to save my daughter.
B: [Nodded slightly].

Example 6
A newsreader thanking her colleague from another newsroom for clarification of financial incident.
A: I appreciate that.
B: You're welcome.

The A3 sub-strategy of explicitly expressing gratitude, also equally uncommon in my data (4 instances or 1%), related to formulaic phrases found as passive structures (e.g. *much obliged*, 3 times) or the '(I) copular verb ADJ' pattern (e.g. *I am grateful*, once), as illustrated in examples 7 and 8.

Example 7
During a TV programme, A (presenter) thanked B (zookeeper) for stopping a snake coming near her.
A: Much obliged.
B: [No response].

Example 8
A newsreader had asked for additional information from his colleague.
A: We're grateful to you indeed, Michael.
B: [No response].

It should be noted that speech acts other than those in the A super-strategy are distinguished by the strategic intent rather than by grammatical encodings. The B super-strategy accounted for 35 instances of all gratitude moves (8.6%) and was analogous in its discourse role to that of 'account/explanation' in apologies. In the case of thanking, acknowledging a favour shows that the speaker articulates the positive effect bestowed on him/her by the act of favour-offering, without explicitly verbalising it, as illustrated in the second clause uttered by speaker A in example 1 and in the clause that follows the head act in the first turn in example 9. Responses to an inquiry on health and general well-being such as *I'm fine* (when combined with any one of A sub-strategies) were also grouped into this category.

Example 9
A young passenger thanking his taxi driver.
A: Thank you very much. Keep the change!
B: Thank you.

The C super-strategy has a similar role to complimenting behaviour, but involves a larger range of expressions, in particular those that the speaker uses to bless the hearer or express optimism as to the hearer's future undertakings (e.g. *good luck*; *God bless*; *all the best*). Aijmer (1996: 38) suggests that when strategies of this kind are called for, we can establish a further distinction to see whether the thanker focuses on expressing admiration for the act itself (sub-strategy C1) or on well-wishing the person who has performed such an act (sub-strategy C2). My analysis indicates that my informants showed no significant preference for one or other sub-strategy; both featured 23 and 24 times with very low percentages (5.7% and 5.9%), as in the second clauses uttered by speakers A in examples 10 and 11.

Example 10
After a day trip, A thanked B (his friend) who gave him a lift home.
A: Thank you ever so much. I really enjoyed it today. You must come to our place next time.
B: Anytime, anytime.

Example 11
An interviewer (A) congratulating on the release of a singer's (B) latest work.
A: Thank you for coming today. Good luck with your new album.
B: Thank you.

The remaining two gratitude moves occurred very infrequently. The D strategy featured only 3 times (0.7%); the speaker, though feeling grateful, wanted to show that the hearer should not have gone out of their way to give a favour (as in A's first clause in example 12).

Example 12
Both speakers were flatmates. B did the washing-up for A while he was on the phone.
A: You didn't have to do it. Aww, thank you.
B: That's quite alright. I don't mind.

Equally infrequent was the E strategy (4 instances or 1%). With this last gratitude move, the implications of which I have derived from Coulmas (1981) and Eisenstein and Bodman (1986), the speaker committed him/herself to offer a suitable repayment to reciprocate the hearer's kindness/considerateness (as in A's third clause in example 10).

7.3.1.2 Functions of Thanks

Since thanks are in the same category of speech acts as compliments and apologies, it is not surprising to find that all three of them share some common properties. Rather than conveying information (referential function), their communicative importance centres on displaying and constructing emotional states between speakers (affective function). Eisenstein and Bodman (1986: 167) claim that expressions of gratitude are of ordinary occurrence in interpersonal communication, and 'when performed successfully, the language function of expressing gratitude can engender feelings of warmth and solidarity'. Having said that, this assumption does not satisfactorily hold across most situations, in particular if we apply the criterion that thanks can be formed both on their own (head acts only) and in combination with one or more sub-strategies (other gratitude moves). In this case then, both referential and affective functions influence each other to the extent that it is burdensome to tell them apart. In the light of Grice's hypothesis, utterances of the expressive type violate the logic-bound idealisation prevalent in some of the CP's maxims and that they impede the continuation of efficient and information-oriented discourse (see 2.1.2). Such a constrained view has been challenged by Holmes (1990) and Sifianou (1992), who argue that communication at an interpersonal level very much depends for its success on expressive speech acts, which include thanks.

Thanking behaviour can be approached from a discourse-organisation framework to uncover other less explicit illocutionary forces. If we think of conversational interactions as a social domain in which people start their talk, listen to each other, interrupt each other, and so on, it is apparent that thanking can satisfy many other roles within that process. Thanks

are routinely used at the beginning of a conversation as an attention-getter or an indication that the speaker wants to initiate interpersonal negotiation. Example 18 functions as a substitution for the greeting routine (e.g. *hi* or *how are you?*). If the interaction should continue for some time, thanks may imply that co-operative contribution or turn-taking is anticipated. Example 5 is an instance that was heard at the beginning of a public conversation. The father of the victim offered his word of thanks to the police officer, after which the two speakers continued to discuss judicial issues and how the police had managed to accomplish the search. My data has shown further that thanks can occur towards the end of a conversation to signify that either the speaker or the hearer thinks that the act of favour giving and favour reciprocation has been adequate, on top of the implicit agreement of one or both of them that the time has come to do something else (Norrick, 1978: 285). When found here, thanks suggest that both parties have succeeded in their goal of talk (examples 8 and 9) and, if necessary, that their camaraderie can be resumed in future (examples 10 and 11).

Thanks in smaller sequential patterns and/or in the middle of conversations have other functions to fulfil. Aijmer (1996: 53) proposes that thanking formulae are ubiquitous in the exchange of goods and service as much as in offers and requests. The data from this corpus provide many instances to corroborate her conjecture. On the one hand, some of my informants employed thanks to accept offers (as in example 13) and, on the other hand, they used thanks to turn down offers (as in example 14). The speaker in example 15 resorted to the speech act of thanking to mitigate the face-threatening implication inherent in her indirect request.

Example 13
A middle-aged novelist during a talk show on television. An interviewer gave her a bunch of flowers.
A: Thank you very much. You're so kind. It's my birthday today, so thank you very much once again.
B: [No response].

Example 14
After having finished reading a tabloid, A was about to pass it on to B, his close friend.
A: Want this?
B: No, thanks.

Example 15
A landlady asking her tenant to carry a vacuum cleaner into her office.
A: Can you bring it in for me? Thank you.
B: [Did as told].

Example 16
In a bus, A accidentally dropped a coin when she is about to pay her fare. The bus driver looked down on the floor.
A: It's just a pound. Thank you. [Smiled].
B: [No response].

In addition, thanks are, on several occasions, essentially phatic in their function and have a very vacuous meaning (Aijmer, 1996: 52), as example 14 illustrates. Also in example 16, where I was a bystander, the force of A's uttering *thank you* is even more intricately phatic

or, at least, ambiguous. It was not clear in the first place why, who and what the speaker thanked for, while unintentionally causing a coin to drop. The NVC (i.e. attempt to establish eye contact) she projected right after this incident gave hints that she was addressing the bus driver. No sooner had she picked up the coin and handed it to him to pay for the bus fare, than I realised that the thanking was produced for his patience to wait. This function predominates over all other possible functions, when considered with the details of this sequence. At this point, I expected that at least a 'bald thank you' (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986) would ensue as a result of a service exchange, but not a single word was uttered by both parties. In my estimation, the speaker was implicitly using *thank you* for the sake of having something to say in order to camouflage her embarrassment, as other passengers in the queue behind her were becoming impatient about the delay she had caused.

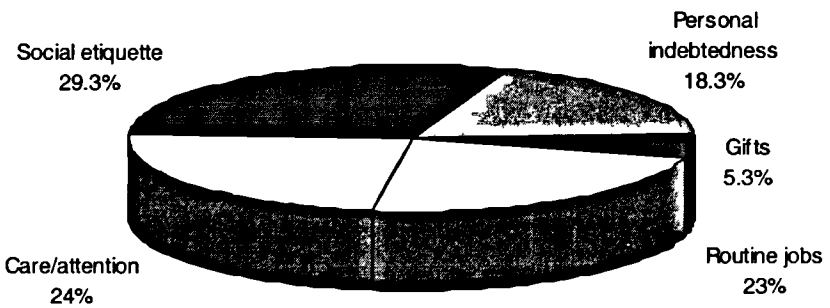
I conclude then that thanking behaviour consists of plurivalent speech acts. It primarily indicates gratefulness and respect towards others from whom we have benefited. In addition, a moment's reflection at a deeper level of analysis will throw further light on the plausibility that thanks are also there for fulfilling other less explicit interpersonal goals.

7.3.1.3 Topics of Thanks

As far as I know, in the literature, only Aijmer (1996) has put forward a classification of thanks. This involves two kinds of object of gratitude (i.e. material and immaterial things) with several sub-classifications that, without a detailed key to interpretation, have overlapping characteristics. For my own corpus, I have followed the ideas of previous researchers, notably Aijmer (1996) and Holmes (1990) in putting thanking exchanges into different topics, in accordance with the degree of indebtedness (R variable).

The analysis of my data shows that all 300 thanking exchanges can be grouped under five broad topics, as shown in figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 Topics of Thanks



The largest proportion of thanks took place for the sake of 'social etiquette' or as a result of 'minor favours', such as lending someone a lighter, holding a cup of tea and switching off a

cooker for a flatmate, or adjusting the time on a friend's watch. This topic accounts for 88 instances of thanks (29.3%), as illustrated in examples 2, 6 and 7 above. The second most frequent topic was expressing gratitude for 'care' or 'attention' (72 instances or 24%), in response to the hearer's inquiry into the speaker's well-being as well as the hearer's well-wishing expressions, warning against potential danger and compliments. An illustration is given in example 19. The third most regular topic of thanks had to do with 'routine jobs', characteristic of most service encounters, notably at an underground ticket office, at a company helpdesk, at a restaurant, in a shop, in a bus and in a pub, as shown in examples 2 and 17 (see Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, 1993). My informants thanked each other on this topic 69 times (23%).

Example 17
At a supermarket, A was a check-out girl and B was a customer.
A: Do you want any cash back?
B: Hmm. 50 pounds, please?
A: 50?
B: Yes, please. Thanks.

Example 18
Two lovers in a long-distance relationship before the Christmas period.
A: Thank you very very much for the card, honey.
B: I haven't received yours yet.
A: How come! I sent it off a few days ago.

Example 19
A encouraged B, her close friend, to take up a new career.
A: I hope you're successful with your application.
B: Thank you. I hope so, too. I'm keeping my fingers crossed!

The next frequent topic was 'personal indebtedness' (or 'major favours'), in the sense that the addressee has taken the trouble to render help or a favour that required considerable effort to perform (55 instances or 18.3%), as seen in examples 10, 11 and 12. This topic concerns situations such as replacing a colleague at work, appearing at an academic conference as a keynote speaker, inviting a classmate to a party or taking a friend out for a weekend ride. The only remaining topic occurred very infrequently (16 instances or 5.3%); it represents a favour induced by 'material gifts' and 'gratuities', such as when buying a drink for a barmaid, donating loose change to a taxi driver, offering a birthday present and sending someone a Christmas card, as in examples 9, 13 and 18.

As I have maintained in chapters 5 and 6, it is difficult to categorise speech acts within clearly defined boundaries, not only in terms of their grammatical or semantic elements, but also in terms of topics and other variables that one intends to analyse. Expressions of gratitude are no stranger to this predicament either. Therefore, the researcher must keep strict and systematic vigilance on each classification task, while consistently consulting the details of the speech event. With topics of thanks, I have borne the above precaution in mind and would like to point out some potential complications. For example,

requesting a travel brochure from a friend opens up three putative interpretations: the resulting thanks would involve personal indebtedness if the friend had to drive away from his/her usual route to get a copy; gift/gratuity if the brochure had to be paid for; and social etiquette if the friend only let the speaker read the information therein. To illustrate further, example 3 straddles the division between gift/gratuity and minor favour. It makes sense to assume that A was being treated to a drink, which would involve the gifts/gratuities topic. Such speculation was however ruled out by the fact that speaker B had given speaker A some change to buy any beverages he would like, but speaker A changed his mind and came back to the table with the coins. As a consequence, I labelled this thanking routine as one incurred as a minor favour, since no gratuity was given to A in the end (i.e. no purchase of a drink was made). I shall mention another case in point. I perceive example 11 to be an exchange of gratitude for a major favour (not care/attention), given the speaker's main thanking expression *thank you for coming today*. A thanked B, the singer, for taking the trouble to come to the show. This should not be confused with A's second utterance, which has to do with well-wishing directed at B. In return for that encouraging word, B expressed her gratitude to A with 'responsive' thanks. For exchanges that encompass adjacency pairs, triplets or more turns, the thanks that appear in the first turns were given priority in the analysis. This issue will be taken up again in 7.1.3.6, in the discussion of responses to thanks.

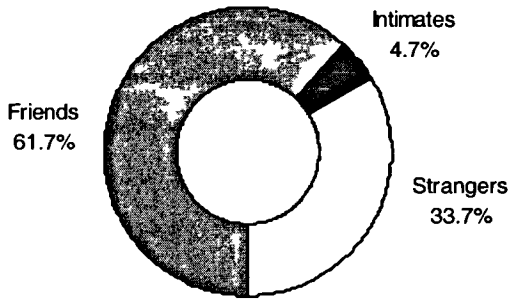
7.3.1.4 Interpersonal Relationships in Thanking Behaviour

In this section, I shall examine the two influential variables, that is social distance (D) and power dominance (P) between speakers, to explore what kind of effects they had on the realisation of thanks in British English.

As far as the D variable is concerned, investigating speech behaviour together with relative familiarity will give us information as to the rights and obligations that interactants of different types of social standing can assume towards one another, and how they fulfil such expectations with thanks (Wolfson, 1988: 29). As seen in figure 7.2, my analysis of 300 thanking exchanges were grouped into three broad categories (i.e. between friends and colleagues, between intimates and between strangers). At the completion of analysis, it emerged that more than half of my thanking data were exchanged between friends and others who knew one another to a certain extent (185 instances or 61.7%), as illustrated in example 20. This high frequency can be explained in the light of the Bulge theory, which claims, as we have seen in earlier chapters that, in everyday life, it is people pertaining to this category that not only seem to be in constant contact, but also are subject to relationship negotiation and re-definition on the most regular basis. When uttered at opportune moments, thanks will

offer more security and bolster up solidarity among friends and colleagues. The second group of my informants that induced a frequent use of thanks were absolute strangers (101 instances or 33.7%, as in example 21), and the group that offered thanks least frequently were intimates and/or family members (14 instances or 4.7%, as in example 22).

Figure 7.2 Social Distance in British English Thanking Routines



Strangers and intimates exemplify two extremes as charted on the Bulge diagram (see figure 5.3), with both defined by a less ambiguous relationship (as opposed to friends). Fundamentally, being strangers does not entitle those involved to have much to talk about. If one thinks of a big and busy metropolis like London where my data were collected, one can notice even from cursory observation that strangers (whether strangers on the streets or in service encounters) depend for much of their politeness etiquette and social activities on the adoption of formal and respectful speech styles. To meet this end, thanks act as a powerful tool that smoothes the rough edges of this interactional mechanism (Apte, 1974). My data tend to confirm this line of thought.

Example 20
A returned some notes that she had borrowed from B (her classmate) on the previous day.
A: Thanks for lending me your lecture notes.
B: That's OK. I didn't have to read them yesterday anyway.

Example 21
A young female train passenger offering a seat to an old woman.
A: Here, sit in my seat.
B: Thank you, dear.

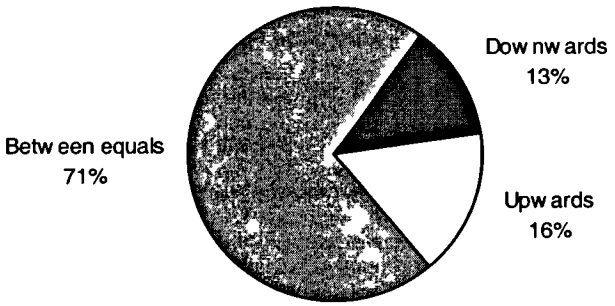
Example 22
A girlfriend thanking her boyfriend for doing the washing-up.
A: Thanks for doing the dishes. I didn't expect you to do that.
B: My pleasure.

Conversations frequently take place between social intimates, where relationships are unambiguous. My finding that verbalising thanks was very uncommon within private households reflects the fact that intimates know each other well, and producing conversational routines such as *thank you*; *sorry*; or *you look nice* may not be so necessary. Reciprocating a kindness may require the indebted individuals to perform appropriate

'action' to show how much they feel grateful for the favours received from their siblings, parents, partners, rather than uttering a verbal routine.

We move on now to consider another influential factor, the power dominance variable (P). I divided all of my 300 thanking exchanges into the following categories: between status equals, from superiors to their subordinates and from subordinates to their superiors. The results of my analysis are presented in figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 Power Status in British English Thanking Routines



Status equals produced the largest proportion of thanks, as frequently as 213 times (71%), as can be seen in example 23. When their role relations are of a similar nature (in this case, when equality in power is held constant), interactants would feel pretty much at ease with one another, and when in need of a favour, they would not hesitate to ask for it. By contrast, the other two groups involve a social imbalance; most thanks were produced by individuals with less power (48 instances or 16%), followed very closely by thanks given to interactants socially below the thankers (39 instances or 13%). Examples 24 and 25 are illustrations of these points.

Example 23
A thanking B (his fellow zoo keeper) for helping him putting a snake into its cage.
A: Thank you so much. I really couldn't manage it on my own.
B: He was quite heavy, wasn't he?

Example 24
A barman thanking a client for his purchase of a drink.
A: Thank you. Thank you very much.
B: [No response].

Example 25
A son (aged around 8) to his father after coming out of a theme park.
A: Did you enjoy yourself today?.
B: Oh, yes. Thank you very much. Did you enjoy yourself today?
A: [No response].

With reference to status asymmetrical encounters, Holmes (1995) infers that compliments and apologies can be a 'power play' among interactants. Thanks can also be said to operate in the same way. I had hypothesised that giving thanks would indicate that people in power have the privilege of having their wishes complied with and sometimes gaining unlimited attention from those socially beneath them (consider the scenarios between a passenger and a

taxi driver or between a diner and a waiter). I had also felt that this would result in the powerful owing more thanks to their more powerless counterparts. However, such proposals did not hold up very well, since the natural data did not show any significant differences; if anything, the reverse pattern was found (13% vs. 16%). I have noted on a number of occasions in this chapter that giving thanks is tantamount to giving respect or showing deference. In general terms, it is obvious that subordinates are put in a socially vulnerable position, and it is they who are expected to provide good service and render themselves helpful, however much this might impede their wants to be left free of imposition (their negative face wants). According to this perception, the evidence that status inferiors used thanks as frequently (or more frequently) may reveal a likely trend for it to be considered less of an FTA in British society to give due deference to those in authority, and also less face-threatening to conform to the rules of social encounters where thanking behaviour is a salient component.

7.3.1.5 Gender Variation in Thanking Behaviour

I shall now explore the effect of the gender of my informants on the production of thanks. I allocated all 297 examples into four categories, involving same-gender groups (F-F and M-M) and cross-gender groups (F-M and M-F). In three out of 300 exchanges, the thankers were found to be addressing an audience, a fact that made it impossible to specify the gender of the recipients.

Deriving from previous speech act studies (including my own reported in chapters 5 and 6), a working assumption prior to the data quantification was that the practice of giving thanks would be most frequent between women in their own group, or at least by women speakers.

Table 7.2 Gender in British English Thanks

Gender Types	N=
F-F	73 (24.6%)
F-M	85 (28.6%)
M-F	59 (19.9%)
M-M	80 (26.9%)
Total	**297 (100%)**

The results of my analysis displayed in table 7.2 do not support this hypothesis; it was thanks given from women to men that were most frequently heard (85 instances or 28.6%, as shown in example 26), followed very closely by thanks from men to men (80 instances or 26.9%). Women thanking each other (73 instances or 24.6%) was less frequent, and men thanking them still less so (59 instances or 19.9%). I am of the opinion that although the variation in

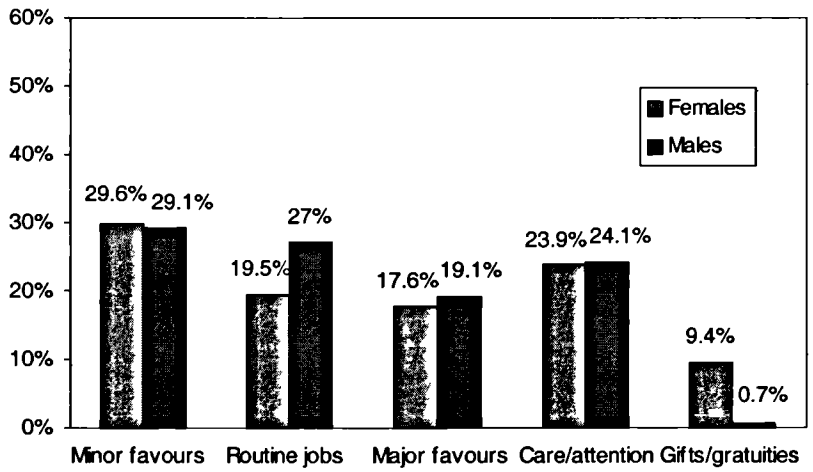
frequencies representing these four groups in my corpus are too minimal to be taken seriously, gender issues in thanks merit further examination. Having said that, my finding raises another interesting trend: when we consider simply the gender of thankers, it emerged that women offered thanks slightly more often than men.

Example 26
A thanking B, his male colleague, for invitation to dinner.
A: Thank you, Bruce. You must come to our place when you've got time.
B: Yeah, yeah. I'd love to.

This fact may be attributable to the interplay between gender and power. As we have discussed in 7.3.1.4, when there is a power imbalance, people give thanks more often to powerful individuals (cf. Holmes, 1995: 158). Empirical findings from previous research suggest that men's identities are constructed around the characteristics of being in control, in decision-making and having physical strength (Kiesling, 1997: 65; Coates, 1993, among others). As a consequence, men stand a greater chance of basking in the prestige of receiving respect from others. The distributional patterns here, where men received the largest proportion of thanks, appear to conform to this insight.

Having discussed how it is that women and men differ in their frequency of use of thanking routines, it may be of further interest to consider this issue in conjunction with the topics of occurrence. Based on 300 interchanges, thanks produced by my female and male informants were analysed and then compared, as illustrated in figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4 Gender of Thankers Viewed by Topics



The remarks that follow can only be taken as speculative, since the differences between the number of thanks from women and men on the topics are rather small. Looking at the most regular topic, thanks for minor favours were given by female informants 47 times (29.6%), a little more frequently than men thanking on the same object of gratitude (41 times or 29.1%) ($\chi^2 = 0.008$, $p = 0.92$). Thanks are similar to apologies, in that they convey respect towards

the addressees as part of the process of attending to the hearers' negative face wants. The distribution shown above suggests that women and men are equally aware of the necessity of reciprocating a minor favour and making this known by thanking. With regard to the topic having to do with routine jobs, men gave thanks more often than women (38 instances vs. 31 instances; $\chi^2 = 2.34$, $p = 0.12$). The percentages (27% vs. 19.5%) point to the possibility that men, being the dominant group in society, used thanks more often to show their appreciation to those that provide them service. In figure 7.4, I have chosen not to report on the gender of recipients, because the amount of fieldnote data for each group (e.g. F-F, F-M, etc.) was not substantial enough to begin with. However, if we acquire a larger corpus in future and find that women receive thanks more than men on this topic, we would then be in a better position to warrant the widespread stereotype that construes women not only as the less powerful and unassertive group, but also as those who give service and general assistance to clients (e.g. supermarket check-out attendants, receptionists, operators and members of cabin crew). Considering the next two topics, my female and male informants did not differ much in terms of their frequencies in giving thanks for major favours (28 instances or 17.6% vs. 27 instances or 19.1%, $\chi^2 = 0.11$, $p = 0.73$) and care/attention (38 instances or 23.9% vs. 34 instances or 24.1%; $\chi^2 = 0.001$, $p = 0.96$). It is very interesting to discover that, although being the least frequently occurring object of gratitude, favours as a result of gifts and gratuities were acknowledged by women (15 instances or 9.4%) much more often than men (1 instance or 0.7%) – this is the only topic whose distribution reaches statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 11.26$, $p = 0.0007$). It could be inferred on this evidence that women were more distinctively polite than men, because they were very sensitive to thanking others when being offered material gifts and free goods.

7.3.1.6 Responding to Thanks

As with compliments and apologies, an investigation into the reactions (both verbal and non-verbal) given to thanks is an important clue in understanding linguistic politeness, because it tells us about the perlocutionary effects in the act of thanking, and whether the recipients would find it necessary to respond and what the suitable answers might be. My analysis of the ways in which thanks can be responded to hinges on the blueprints formulated by previous scholars (for example, Holmes, 1988a; 1988b; 1990; 1995; Olshtain and Cohen, 1983; 1989, among several others). I identified five broad types of response strategy, as shown in table 7.3. The A strategy has to do with thanks being 'accepted', indicating that the hearers are satisfied that the favours they have rendered are courteously reciprocated. It goes without saying that this responding strategy is considered the most favourable answer; it implies that the social disequilibrium incurred is now rectified. From Brown and Levinson's

perspective, the responder's negative face is respected, while the speaker's positive face is enhanced. To 'accept' thanks, various agreeing and acknowledging utterances are available, for instance *yes*; *that's OK*; *my pleasure*: *don't mention it*; *that's alright*; *not at all*; *you're welcome* and the like, or non-verbal clues such as a nod or a smile.

Table 7.3 Responding to Thanks in British English

Response Types	N=
A. Accept	75 (25%)
B. Evade	14 (4.7%)
C. Reject	6 (2%)
D. Responsive thanks	19 (6.3%)
E. No response provided/expected	186 (62%)
Total	**300 (100%)**

Surprisingly, the 'preferred seconds' to thanks are of a very similar set of suitable apology responses – another piece of evidence for the negative politeness oriented nature of both speech acts. With the second type of response (B type), the hearers 'sit on the fence' by not providing a clear or direct answer; instead, they either come up with comments that show positive effect or utterances in response to the question that follows the thank in the first turn (e.g. *yeah, she sang very well, didn't she?*). The third type (C type) relates to thanks being rejected. The hearers show disagreement with the kind words by uttering phrases with provocative connotations such as the following: *go get it yourself next time*; *you're such a pig sometimes*; *why did you say that?* (occasionally uttered in an angry tone of voice). The fourth type (D type) represents what I call 'responsive thanks', in my own terminology. In lieu of going 'on record' to show appreciation, the hearers indicate that they are equally as grateful; probably influenced by the wisdom in the adage 'one good turn deserves another', they return another thank to the speakers (e.g. *thanks* and *thank you*). Although my study does not evaluate prosodic features, it occurred to me on a number of occasions that when the variant *thank you* is specifically called for, the stress tends to fall on the second syllable (*you*), as if to imply that '*I* am the one who should feel indebted to you, not you to me'. The last type (E type) involves instances where no identifiable verbal or non-verbal answer is produced by the recipients of thanks.

The results obtained from my analysis are presented in table 7.3. It transpired that my informants made use of the fifth strategy (E type) most frequently, in more than half of all responses (186 instances or 62%), as in examples 24 and 25. This finding corresponds to Swan's (1995: 546) description of modern English usage, where he says that 'British people do not always reply to thanks, especially thanks for small things' and to my point in 7.3.1.3 that the degree of indebtedness evident in my examples of thanks is relatively trivial. I shall note in passing that informal observers of English rules of speaking are under the impression

that American people almost always say *you're welcome* after someone has thanked them and that this responding routine is not used as often by British people (see Coulmas, 1979). It would be very beneficial if researchers would carry out a supplementary study to verify the validity of such speculation. The next most frequent response strategy was in exchanges of the A type (75 instances or 25%), as in examples 20 and 22. Exchanges of the D type (19 instances or 6.3%, as in examples 9 and 11) and B type (14 instances or 4.7%, as in examples 14, 18 and 23) occurred progressively less frequently.

Example 27
A had been to get a cigarette for B, his flatmate, while B was on the phone. Coming back, A did not look very pleased.
A: Here's your cigarette.
B: Alright, thanks so much, John.
A: Go get it yourself next time.

The least frequently occurring responding strategy was the C type, where the speakers were admonished by the hearers for making use of thanks (6 instances or 2%), as in example 27.

We can surmise that British people use thanks mostly on topics with lightly weighted indebtedness and tend not to say anything to show appreciation to those who thank them. Lesser use of agreeing expressions may bewilder speakers of other varieties of English (in particular, Americans), who may form an opinion that British people are not appreciative, difficult to please or lack a sense of good manners. From the opposite angle, British people may, in their defence, retort that English speakers who agree too often are boring, predictable and insincere. Possible stereotypes like these are by no means indicative that one group is more polite than the other; they only depict how different cultures – even ones that share virtually the same language codes – opt to follow their own rules of speaking. Returning to our present discussion, the results from my data regarding the high frequency of the 'accept' type testify that, as recipients, British people are, on the whole, quite satisfied with individuals to whom they have offered a favour and are also well-prepared to rectify the debts they have enforced on the thankers.

7.3.2 Thanks in Thai

Using my intuitions as a native speaker of Thai, together with the findings obtained from compliment and apology studies (see chapters 5 and 6), I formed some hypotheses to act as a starting point for the investigation of how thanks are expressed in Thai. It was assumed that Thai speakers do not produce thanking routines as frequently as their British counterparts, and that they have at their disposal a smaller variety of formulae. Some Thai thanking strategies are associated with an assertion of power and can be used only between interactants with specific role relationships. I hypothesised that the applicability of these

power-laden thanks is on the decrease, probably reflecting changes in Thai society towards the more egalitarian lifestyle, which flourishes in Western societies. It was also felt that the more interactants are bonded by either vaguely defined or status equal relationships, the more frequently thanks would be employed. With respect to thanking responses, I reckoned that expressions of gratitude in Thai would be met with more rejections than acceptances.

7.3.2.1 Thai Thanking Strategies

Since the two languages under investigation are dissimilar in their syntax, it was impossible to categorise my Thai data set into the same A sub-strategies that I used for the British data set.

Table 7.4 Thai Thanking Strategies

Thanking Strategies	N=
A. An explicit expression of gratitude	
A01 *khɔ̀ɔbkhun* (general)	154 (65.5%) (performatives=18) (formulae=136)
A02 *khɔ̀ɔbcaj* (power-neutral and/or other-depreciating)	32 (13.6%) (performatives=2) (formulae=30)
A03 *khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun* (formal, deferential)	8 (3.4%) (performatives=4) (formulae=4)
A04 *khɔ̀ɔbphráthaj* (directed to royal personages only)	2 (0.9%)
A05 English *thank you*	5 (2.1%)
B. An account or acknowledgement of favour	8 (3.4%)
C. An expression of admiration	
C1 Admiration of the act	6 (2.6%)
C2 Admiration of the addressee	9 (3.8%)
D. An indication of unnecessity of favour	9 (3.8%)
E. A promise of repayment	2 (0.9%)
Total	**235 (100%)**

Therefore, I decided to formulate another class of sub-strategies for Thai direct speech acts of thanking (that is, A01, A02, A03, A04 and A05), which could be differentiated by their semantic forms and social implications.[1] Explicit thanks were analysed alongside other subsidiary moves. I was able to collect 194 exchanges of Thai thanks and grouped them into

[1] Like Thai apologies, Thai thanking expressions can involve the use of performative verbs or routine formulae (see 6.3.2.1). A01, A02, A03 and A04 strategies are classified as speech act verbs (cf. THANK) when preceded by a subject, a modal verb (*tɔ̂ŋ*, 'must') or other verbs equivalent to REQUEST, BEG or ASK, and/or immediately followed by an object. Others forms are categorised as conventionalised formulae (cf. *thanks*).

separate categories, amounting to 235 gratitude moves in total. The results are shown in table 7.4.

The first and by far the most frequently heard was the A01 sub-strategy *khɔ̀ɔbkhun*, an equivalent phrase to English *thank you* (154 instances or 65.5%). This formula is etymologically ambiguous in the first syllable *khɔ̀ɔb* ('edge' or 'rim'), but not the second syllable, as *khun* could mean any of the following: 'merit', 'good deed' and 'benefit'. In some situations, *khɔ̀ɔbkhun* may sound very blunt and not polite enough, unless it is suffixed with a suitable SFP[1] variant ('sentence final particle'; see 2.3.2). I provide illustrations in examples 28 and 29. Note that, despite the absence of SFPs[1], the exchange in example 29 is regarded as polite by dint of the boosting intensifier *mâag* and the friendly SFP[2] *ləəj*.

Example 28
B was the mother and A was a daughter. B handed A a cloth to mop up some mess during dinner preparation.
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun khà mêe/
thank you SFP[1] mother/
A: 'Thank you, mum'.

Example 29
B gave A, one of her best friends, a souvenir from an overseas trip.
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun mâag ləəj/ mâjnâatɔ̂ŋ lamɓàag ləəj/
thank you really SFP[2.1]/ should not have TAKE trouble SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thank you so much. You really shouldn't have'.

The second most frequently used sub-strategy was the A02 routine *khɔ̀ɔbcaj* (i.e. *caj* has the meaning of 'heart' or 'mind'), which occurred 32 times (13.6%), as in example 30. When the expression *khɔ̀ɔbcaj* is used to display gratitude, it indicates that the speaker regards him/herself as being equal or socially above the hearer.

Example 30
HRH the Queen of Thailand addressed her audience at the end of a gathering to commemorate her birthday celebration.
A: kɔ̂ɔ khɔ̌ɔ khɔ̀ɔbcaj thúgkhon thîi mii námcajdii tɔ̀ɔ khâaphacâw/
then REQUEST thank you everyone that HAVE thoughtful to I/
A: 'So I would like to thank each and everyone of you for your thoughtfulness [for being here today]'.

Interpersonal relationships are maintained, provided that interactants do not violate this norm. For instance, youngsters are aware of the power-laden aspect of *khɔ̀ɔbcaj* and would never be so disrespectful as to direct this expression to their parents, seniors or mentors. Examples in the A03 sub-strategy *khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun* featured only very occasionally (8 instances or 3.4%). The word *phrákhun*, found at the end of this variant, has a similar meaning to the morpheme *khun* in A01, although A03 is used as a formal and super-deferential style, as in example 31. The A04 sub-strategy *khɔ̀ɔbphráthaj*, in the strictest sense, is reserved for situations where a commoner expresses gratitude to the King and

members of his family. Besides example 30, there was no other speech event that included royal figures. I collected a few aberrant exchanges (2 instances or 0.9%) of *khɔ̀ɔbphráthaj*. My understanding is that such usage was not intended to ridicule any respectable institution, but rather served the purpose of being playful (as in example 32).

Example 31
Student thanking his lecturer for helping him proof-read an important document.
A: khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun ʔaacaan mâag ləəj khráb/ thâa mâjdâj ʔaacaan phǒm khoŋ jɛ̂ɛ/
thank you lecturer really SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/ if HAVE not lecturer I perhaps BE in trouble/
B: mâjpenraj cà/
that's OK SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thank you ever so much, madam. I've no idea how much harder it would have been without your help'.
B: 'That's quite alright'.

Example 32[2]
A young woman thanking her pal for offering to buy lunch for her.
A: khɔ̀ɔbphráthaj/
thank you/
B: diăw hăw kɔ̂ɔ khŷn hŭa rɔ̀g/
soon louse then ASCEND head SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thank you, your Majesty'.
B: 'You know better than that'.

With regard to the A05 sub-strategy, code-switching between Thai and English was used. There were 5 instances (2.1%) in which English *thank you* was pronounced with a Thai accent (*téŋkîw*), as shown in example 33.

Example 33
A senior female colleague thanking her male junior for giving her a small gift.
A: téɛŋkîw câa nŭu/
thank you SFP[2.1] you/
B: mâipenraj cà/
that's ok SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thank you – that is sweet of you'.
B: 'My pleasure'.

Code-switching is preferred to other routines, because the A01 and A03 formulae come across as too formal, the A02 one too familiar (or condescending) and the A04 one too unorthodox. Some Thai speakers familiar with the English language thus try to avoid these value judgements by using the more socially-neutral expression *thank you* as an alternative.

Other than explicit expressions of gratitude, my Thai informants also had recourse to subsidiary, indirect speech acts of thanking, though at relatively low frequencies. The B super-strategy connotes an acknowledgement of a favour, occurring eight times (3.4%), as in the second sentence by speaker A in example 31. The C super-strategy can be broken down

[2] As explained above, commoners are not supposed to use this thanking formula. Speaker B's response indicates her disapproval of her friend's behaviour. In Thai culture, infectious insects and diseases are metaphorically assumed to befall the person who commits such verbal temerity.

into two parts (C1 and C2). In the Thai data, I found six instances (2.6%) representing an admiration of the act (as in example 34) and nine instances (3.8%) signifying an admiration of the addressee (as in example 35).

Example 34
A diner thanking a waiter after his meal.
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun mâag mâag ná/ ʔaahǎan jîam mâag lɔ̀ɔj/
thank you really really SFP[2.1]/ food excellent really SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thank you ever so much. The food was extremely delicious'.

Example 35
After a trip abroad, A passed on a small souvenir to her friend.
A: nîi krapǎw/ sýy maa fâag càag jîipùn/
this bag/ BUY COME DEPOSIT from Japan/
B: ʔúj/ cajdii caŋ lɔ̀ɔj/ khɔ̀ɔbcaj mâag/
INT/ kind really SFP[2.1]/ thank you really/
A: 'Here's the bag. I have bought it for you from Japan'.
A: 'Oh! You're so kind. Thanks a lot'.

Example 36
B had asked A (her close friend) to alter a blouse.
A: chán sôm sýa hâj sèd lɛ́ɛw ná/
I MEND blouse GIVE FINISH PST SFP[2.1]/
B: khɔ̀ɔbcaj cà/ dîaw phrûŋnîi ca phaa paj lîaŋ khâaw/
thank you SFP[2.1]/ soon tomorrow FTR BRING GO FEED rice/
A: 'I've finished fixing your blouse'.
B: 'Oh, thanks. I'll take you out for a meal tomorrow'.

The remaining two super-strategies did not occur very frequently either. The D super-strategy is a verbal indication that the favour has not been necessary (9 instances or 3.8%), as in example 29. There were only two instances (0.9%) of the E super-strategy, showing the speakers' commitment to returning the favour in future, as in example 36.

7.3.2.2 Functions of Thanks in Thai

The production of thanks is motivated by the mutual face wants of conversational participants, who use gratitude expressions primarily to serve the affective function in discourse. Having said that, depending on how they are formed structurally and the presence of concomitant strategies, thanks can also convey some information and fulfil the referential function. Thanks are regarded as negative politeness strategies, in that they give respect to the benefactors after rendering their help, support or favour. Thanks in British English were found to operate along these dimensions, and I see no reason not to assume that Thai thanking routines achieved similar goals of communication.

Nevertheless, there is some divergence in the available conventionalised strategies that can be used as thanks in British English and Thai. Whereas it is possible in British English to thank someone explicitly with up to eight routines (see table 7.1), Thai possesses less variation, comprising four routines only (or five, if the English *thank you* is counted)

(see table 7.4). Therefore, by implication, we can tentatively state that Thai speakers do not find it necessary to thank one another as effusively as their British counterparts. This proposal is supported by Cooper and Cooper's (1996: 20) observation that, when compared with English speakers, the Thais do not seem to verbalise gratitude as frequently; the speech act is reserved for situations where the object of gratitude is rather substantial and where the benefited party sincerely feels grateful. It is well-known that Thai interactants often gesture with the palms of their hands close together, as a non-verbal means of indicating thankfulness (see 6.3.2.3). Called *wâj* in Thai, this NVC can be performed either by itself or simultaneously with uttering a thanking formula of some sort. It should be underlined that when they appeared in isolation, such kinesic instances of conveying gratitude were not counted towards the totals in my data. Perhaps, with the benefit of hindsight, non-verbal thanks should have been treated on their own and included in the data quantification. Further, in methodological terms, it is difficult to fully investigate this question using my fieldnote data, as the fieldwork periods that I spent in Britain and Thailand were, though comparable, not of exactly the same length. With 300 exchanges representing the British data set and 194 exchanges representing the Thai one, still we should not rush into claiming that these proportions imply that British people thank more often than Thai people (unlike what we have discussed in 6.3.2.2, the production of apologies in both societies show a more distinctive difference in frequencies, and it was more plausible to substantiate that British English speakers were the group that apologise more profusely (cf. Sharwood-Smith, 1999: 47)). In any event, if we consider the entire findings of British English and Thai expressive speech acts separately, we will soon realise that thanks in both languages were the most frequently heard among both informant groups. It could also be inferred that, cross-culturally speaking, expressing gratitude is the most prevalent and convivial means of observing rules of politeness – much more so than showing admiration or conveying regret.

7.3.2.3 Topics of Thai Thanking Behaviour

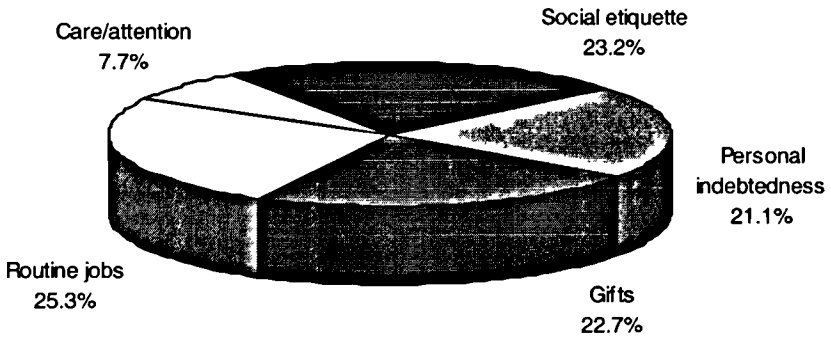
After analysing 194 exchanges of Thai thanks, I categorised them into five regularly occurring topic (see also 7.3.1.3). Figure 7.5 shows that, except for one topic (care/attention), there is negligible variation in the topics for which thanks occurred. The amount of variation was slightly greater with the British English data.

My findings display a more or less even distribution of thanking for routine jobs or service encounters (49 instances or 25.3%, as in example 34), social etiquette or minor favours (45 instances or 23.2%, as in example 28), gifts or gratuities (44 instances or 22.7%, as in example 29, 32, 33 and 35), and personal indebtedness or major favours (41 instances or 21.1%, as in example 36). Thanks on the topic of care/attention occurred far less

frequently (15 instances or 7.7%, as in example 37); however, this topic was much more common in the British data (24%), reflecting the fact that the British informants put considerably more effort into verbalising thanks (in the process of negotiating solidarity) after receiving compliments, kind words and well-wishing expressions.

Example 37
A young male thanked his aunt for offering him some dinner during his brief visit.
A: thaan khâaw maa rɤ̌y jaŋ/ thâa jaŋ dïaw jùu thaan dûajkan lɔ̀ɔj máj/
EAT rice COME or not yet/ if not yet soon STAY EAT together SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP$^{2.2}$/
B: ʔɔ̀ɔ/ phɔɔdii phɔ̂ŋ wɛ́ dɔ̀mɔl maa khráb/ jaŋ ʔìm jùu lɔ̀ɔj
INT/ incidentally just now DROP by [dept. st.] COME SFP^{1}/ still full PROG SFP$^{2.1}$
khráb/ khɔ̀ɔbkhun khráb/
SFP^{1}/ thank you SFP^{1}/
A: 'Have you had dinner yet? I wonder. If not, then why not have some with us soon'?
B: 'Oh, I've just dropped by The Mall [to have a bite to eat]. I am still quite full. Thank you very much'.

Figure 7.5 Topics of Thanks in Thai



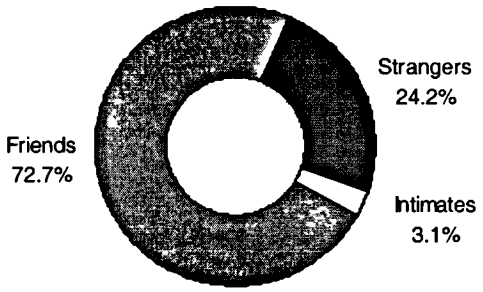
Another curious cross-cultural contrast is the marked difference of frequencies for the gifts/gratuities topic. It transpires that Thai people were more ready than British people (22.7% vs. 5.3%) to offer presents after an overseas trip, and to treat friends to food and meals. As a long-time observer of British society, my speculation is that, for the British, holidays are more of a period for personal relaxation than for making an effort to buy souvenirs for friends and colleagues. Some British people have been mystified by this concept of exchange of goods, which they often think of as an indirect way of bribing or asking for an extra favour. Yet another case in point has to do with eating out in Thai society. After the meal, normally the person with the highest status or authority will pay for the rest of the group (as long as there are not too many people involved) or, in other cases, friends take turns to take care of future meals. In similar situations, British people will tend to share the bill and are individually responsible for whatever they have ordered. 'Going Dutch' does not appear to be as customary in Thailand; it is exactly for this reason that thanks for gifts/gratuities were called for much more frequently in Thai society. By analogy, if it is true that exchanges of gratuities are also ubiquitous in other non-Western cultures, this hypothesis might as well explain the source of miscommunication between the Samoan and New Zealand women in example 28 in 5.3.1.2.

7.3.2.4 Interpersonal Relationships in Thai Thanks

Since social variables have been found by various scholars to be important determinants of our decisions about whether or not to thank one another, I would now like to discuss my findings in relation to the three following factors, based on the total of 194 exchanges: solidarity, power and age (or seniority).

The first variable can be equated with the degree of social distance (D). Figure 7.6 shows that my Thai findings, when classified into three groups, are well in tune not only with the characteristic Bulge (Wolfson, 1988 and see also 5.3.2.4), but also with what I have reported on British English thanks.

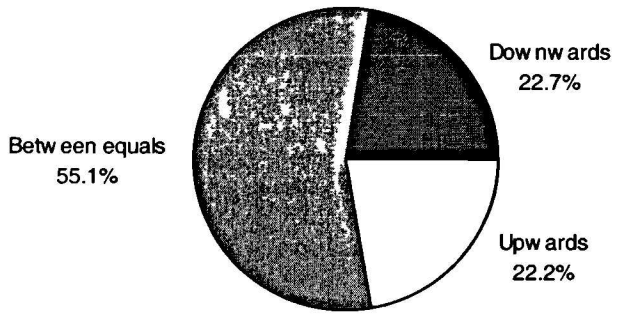
Figure 7.6 Social Distance in Thai Thanks



Nearly three quarters of Thai thanks were uttered by friends, colleagues and acquaintances (141 instances or 72.7%, as in examples 35, 36 and 37). Tied by an uncertain social bond, these individuals socialised or worked together on a regular basis. Since their relationships were constantly subjected to re-definition, it is not surprising to find that friends were the group that employed thanks most frequently, to ensure that communication flows as effortlessly as possible. Around a quarter of all exchanges (47 instances or 25.3%) were produced by strangers, as in example 34. Strangers expressed gratitude less frequently, perhaps because they were under no obligation (if at all) to re-enter into further conversations. Generally stating, they are not much bothered about thanking each other in order to attend to their own face wants. If non-production of thanks indicates rudeness, and if strangers (those who meet in the streets, on public transport or in the service industry) are to meet again, it is unlikely that they would be unable to remember how they have behaved towards one another in previous encounters. Informants who were intimates and family members used thanks least regularly (6 instances or 3.1%, as in example 28). Despite supposedly interacting on a basis as regular (or even more regular than) as friends, intimates are not concerned much about verbal strategies considered formal such as thanks (Apte, 1974; Holmes, 1990). This may be the reason why my Thai informants, like their British fellows, had the least inclination to utter thanks within their homes.

We now consider the second social variable, power dominance (P), which was divided into three types (see figure 7.7). Interactants who were of equal status were responsible for around half of the thanking exchanges (107 instances or 55.1%), as in examples 29, 32 and 35. My Thai informants who were equal in their power apparently felt most at ease in using this negative politeness strategy to each other.

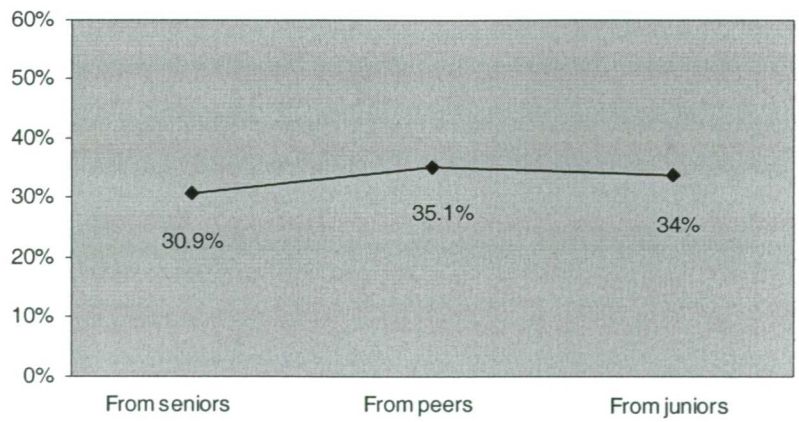
Figure 7.7 Power Dominance in Thai Thanks



The percentages obtained for the remaining two power groups are very similar and lower, in each case, than with status equals; that is 44 instances (22.7%) of thanks given downwards (as in example 30) and 43 instances (22.2%) of thanks given upwards (as in example 31). These findings are associated with two plausible implications: in both British and Thai societies, power disequilibrium does not play an important part in the perceived necessity of whether or not to verbally express gratitude to someone, and individuals in unequal power relationships have less occasion to do things for each other that require thanks.

We now examine the third factor, which I selected to analyse only with respect to the Thai data. As explained in 5.3.2.4 and 6.3.2.4, age is an important social variable in Thai culture, and it is relevant, therefore, to investigate its effect on thanking behaviour in Thai.

Figure 7.8 Age in Thai Thanks



The percentages indicate that there is a very minimal difference in the number of thanks in the three broad rankings of seniority, as illustrated in figure 7.8. Thanks were exchanged most frequently between either peers or speakers of a similar age range (68 instances or

35.1%), as in examples 29, 32, 35 and 36. Thanks given by juniors featured 66 times (34%) and those given by seniors featured 60 times (30.9%). Instances are given in examples 37 and 33, respectively. I had assumed that thanks would be rarer from interactants who were older, and more frequent from juniors, but this cannot be said to be the case. My conclusion is, therefore, that the production of thanks has less to do with variation in age, but then again, more data is needed before we can be absolutely certain of this.

7.3.2.5 Gender Variation in Thai Thanks

In a series of research papers on New Zealand English, Holmes (1988b, 1989, 1995) reports marked differences as to the speech act behaviour of women and men, with her female informants always the most regular users of not only compliments but also apologies.

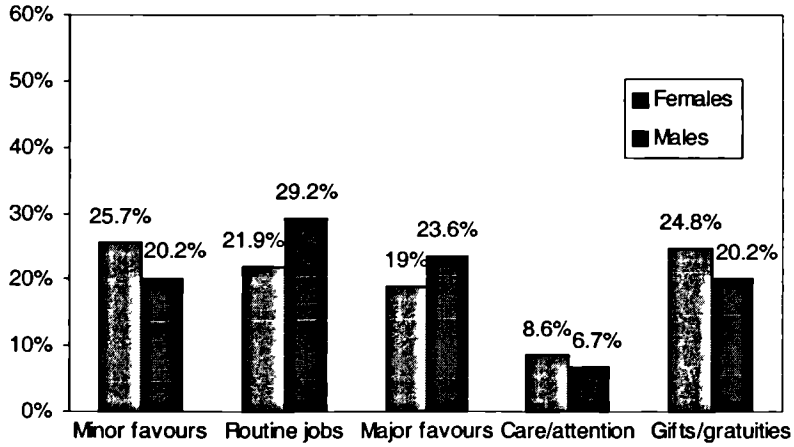
Table 7.5 Gender Variation in Thai Thanks

Gender Types	Thailand	Britain
F-F	**50 (26.6%)**	73 (24.6%)
F-M	**49 (26.1%)**	85 (28.6%)
M-F	**48 (25.5%)**	59 (19.9%)
M-M	**41 (21.8%)**	80 (26.9%)
Total	**188 (100%)**	297 (100%)

So far, my British and Thai data are congruous with hers in most aspects of the investigation, except with regard to gender issues. The same is true with gender variation in Thai thanks. Based on 188 interchanges with an identifiable gender of utterers and receivers, the natural Thai data were broken down into four gender groups (i.e. F-F, F-M, M-F and M-M). Out of 194 interchanges, six were discarded from this classification, since the thankers addressed the public and the gender of recipients were not discernible. The overall results are shown in table 7.5. Other than men thanking themselves (41 instances or 21.8%), the frequencies in other groups were too evenly distributed to be deemed worthy of more discussion on strategy differences.

I analysed the effect of gender further by examining the topics on which thanks took place (based on all 194 interchanges), as exhibited in figure 7.9. Again, we do not see much difference in the thanks of women and those of men, especially given that the distributions representing all five topics fail to reach statistical significance. We can, nevertheless, attempt some tentative speculations. With respect to the most frequently heard topic, it was men who thanked more regularly than women for routine jobs (26 instances or 29.2% vs. 23 instances or 21.9%; $\chi^2 = 1.36$, $p = 0.24$). Thanks for minor favours, the second most frequently used topic, were used more by women than men (27 instances or 25.7% vs. 18 instances or 20.2%; $\chi^2 = 0.81$, $p = 0.36$).

Figure 7.9 Gender Viewed by Topics of Thai Thanks



This suggests that Thai women are more sensitive than men about petty and solidarity-oriented issues such as when someone keeps a door open for them, passes them a plate over a dinner table or lends them a pen (as in example 38).

Example 38
B thanking her female pal for having lent her a pen.
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun mâag jîŋ/
thank you really NN/
B: mâjpenraj rɔ̀g câ/
that's alright SFP$^{2.1}$ SFP$^{2.1}$/
A: 'Thanks a lot, Ying'.
B: 'Oh, that's alright'.

With regard to the third most regular topic, the fact that Thai females are more responsible for thanking for gifts and gratuities than their male fellows (26 instances or 24.8% vs. 18 instances or 20.2%; $\chi^2 = 0.56$, $p = 0.45$) may point to a gender-specific characteristic of Thai women as being more polite than men, in the sense that they are better prepared to acknowledge their indebtedness when they are offered souvenirs and presents both after holidays and as part of everyday life (as in examples 32, 33 and 35 above). The remaining topics do not yield great variation in terms of gender and topics of thanks. With regard to major favours, women were responsible for 20 instances of thanks (19%), whereas men were responsible for 21 instances of thanks (23.6%); $\chi^2 = 0.59$, $p = 0.43$). About the last topic (care/attention), women uttered 9 instances of thanks (8.6%), whereas men uttered 6 instances of thanks (6.7%) ($\chi^2 = 0.22$, $p = 0.63$). Taking all into consideration, both the British and Thai natural data have given analogous findings. This permits us to make a working inference that thanking routines in both societies are a politeness strategy that both gender groups have recourse to with more or less similar frequencies when the need to show gratitude to some one arises.

7.3.2.6 Responding to Thai Thanks

I would now like to consider the responding strategies to thanks utilised by my Thai informants and compare them with the British English findings (see also 7.3.1.6). As table 7.6 indicates, after dividing up all 194 exchange of thanks in Thai into five broad categories, it emerges that the ranking of percentages for all strategies in both data sets is virtually the same.

Table 7.6 Responding to Thai Thanks

Response Types	Thailand	Britain
A. Accept	**61 (31.4%)**	75 (25%)
B. Evade	**20 (10.3%)**	14 (4.7%)
C. Reject	**8 (4.1%)**	6 (2%)
D. Responsive thanks	**12 (6.2%)**	19 (6.3%)
E. No response provided/expected	**93 (47.9%)**	186 (62%)
Total	**194 (100%)**	300 (100%)

The majority of thanks in Thai were not verbally reciprocated, which could mean either that no identifiable response (E type) was provided or that a response was not anticipated in that context (93 instances or 47.9%), as in examples 28, 29 and 30. The second most frequent strategy pointed to thanks of the accept type (A type) (61 instances or 31.4%), as shown in examples 31, 33 and 38. The typical expression of this kind of response was *mâjpenraj* (literally translated as 'it does not matter'), the identical conventionalised routine for responding to the majority of Thai apologies.

Example 39
During a cooking programme, A thanked a cooking instructor for helping her lift a heavy casserole.
A: khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun mâag khà ʔaacaan/
thank you really SFP[1] teacher/
B: ŋán dĭaw raw maa triam pîŋ khanŏmpaŋ kan diikwàa/
then soon we COME PREPARE GRILL bread together better/
A: 'Thank you very much, sir'.
B: 'Now let's start toasting some bread'.

The next regular responding strategy was the B type, in which case 20 instances of thanks (10.3%) were evaded or deflected with short narrative or topic-changing utterances, as in example 39. Responses involving the D type (responsive thanks) were encountered infrequently (12 instances or 6.2%). The least frequent response type was for thanks to be rejected with admonishment or challenging comments (8 instances or 4.3=1%), as in example 32. This finding, then, shows that I was inaccurate in my initial impression that most thanks in Thai would be received with overt rejections.

It could be summarised from the data obtained from British and Thai societies that among several possible strategies, speakers of both languages have the strongest inclination to accept thanks and the least preference to reject them outright. The utterers and recipients

of thanks seem satisfied with this process of deference exchanges – the first party are well prepared to verbally or non-verbally show that they owe the hearers some debt, while the second party are comfortable in implying that social disequilibrium has been restored (perlocutionary effect accomplished).

7.4 Elicited Findings

In this part of the chapter, I discuss the results of the questionnaire data gathered from 40 copies of DC(C)s. The responders were 20 native speakers of British English and the other 20 native speakers of Thai. The purpose of elicited findings was to check the natural findings in view of the patterns of thanks, social relationships of speakers (in particular, as shown in forms of address and other politeness devices) and responses to thanks. As discussed in previous data chapters, the format of each set of my DCs was specific to a particular speech act, and the length of the questionnaires varied according to the topics that I designed them to investigate. Some details of imaginary characters were changed at random (i.e. gender and age), whereas others were held constant (i.e. no social distance, but differing degrees of power dominance). Copies of the British English and Thai DC(C)s are reproduced in appendix B.

7.4.1 British English Questionnaire Data

7.4.1.1 Forms of Written Thanks

Each DC(C) consists of 15 situations (dialogue items) and is consistent with five topics of gratitude and two interpersonal variables (that is, D and P). This means that there were 300 dialogue items for 20 informants to fill in. However, only 212 dialogue items contained at least one strategy of the A type, and these are used as a basis for discussion. Being able to identify 342 gratitude moves, I illustrate the results of DC(C)s side by side with those of the naturally occurring data in table 7.7.

There is a close correlation between the relative frequencies and the relative order of occurrence of thanking strategies. Of the elicited data that related to direct speech acts, the most frequently chosen strategy was the A2 type (offer of gratitude), which incorporated 206 instances (60.2%), as shown in the first utterance in example 40.

Example 40 (situation 7)
Victoria: Thank you very much. That's very thoughtful of you.

Variants of this type found were: *thank you* (91 times), *thanks* (88 times), *cheers* (25 times) and *many thanks* (twice). The use of performative verbs (A1 type) was rare (8 instances or 2.3%; with APPRECIATE featuring 7 times and THANK once), as in the third utterance in

example 41. The A3 type (expressing indebtedness) was selected only once (0.3%), as shown in example 42 (the expression *much obliged*).

Table 7.7 Written British English Thanking Strategies

Thanking Strategies	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. An explicit expression of gratitude		
A1 Use of performative	**8 (2.3%)**	4 (1%)
A2 Offer of gratitude	**206 (60.2%)**	308 (76%)
A3 Expressing Indebtedness	**1 (0.3%)**	4 (1%)
B. An account or acknowledgement of favour	**59 (17.3%)**	35 (8.6%)
C. An expression of admiration		
C1 Admiration of the act	**27 (7.9%)**	23 (5.7%)
C2 Admiration of the addressee	**35 (10.2%)**	24 (5.9%)
D. An indication of unnecessity of favour	**6 (1.8%)**	3 (0.7%)
E. A promise of repayment	—	4 (1%)
Total	**342 (100%)**	405 (100%)

Example 41 (situation 5)
Hugh: Oh, you shouldn't have. It's lovely. I really appreciate your generosity.

Example 42 (situation 8)
Roger: Much obliged.

Example 43 (situation 11)
Simon: Thanks for your concern. I'm feeling much better now.

Example 44 (situation 5)
Hugh: Oh, that's very nice. Thank you.

Example 45 (situation 1)
Claudia: Stuart, this is very kind of you.

Example 46 (situation 10)
Charles: That would be great! I'd like to get to know more people. I'll take you to see my family soon.

An inquiry into implicit acts of thanking in the questionnaires revealed that the subsidiary gratitude move that my British informants employed most regularly were strategies belonging to the B type (59 instances or 17.3%). These are considered indirect speech acts: they only subtly proclaim the speaker's gratitude and his/her acknowledgement of the favour or benefit received from the hearer. An illustration can be found in the second utterance in example 43, where the speaker alluded to his recovery from the cold symptom. Being an extension of the preceding explicit thanks, this utterance acknowledged the hearer's attention to his state of health. Strategies of the C type featured less frequently. This corresponds well with the order already found in the natural findings. Expressions of admiration of the act of thanking (C1) occurred 27 times (7.9%), as in the first sentence in example 44. Focussing on expressing admiration of the addressee (C2) was a little more frequently chosen, incorporating 35 instances (10.2%), as in the second utterance in example 40. Other thanking strategies were not selected in the questionnaire experiment very frequently. The subsidiary

strategy of the D type featured 6 times (1.8%), as in the first utterance in example 41. There was no occurrence of the E type in the questionnaire data.

Although I mentioned earlier that only dialogue items with at least one component from the A type were used for the main discussion, I want to mention that sometimes the B, C, D and E strategies (whether in sole occurrence or in combination) can perform similar acts showing gratitude, no less than the other strategies. I offer illustrations of indirect speech acts of thanking in examples 45 and 46.

7.4.1.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Written Thanks

Different imaginary characters in the questionnaires were designed to have some familiarity with one another. This is similar to the natural data where most thanks were exchanged between participants in this relationship. In terms of status equilibrium, the characters had power hierarchies among themselves, broadly classified as status equals and then status unequals (superordinates to subordinates and vice versa). This was another purpose of analysing the findings from DC(C)s: to explore variation as regards the power-preferential styles in thanking routines. Like the findings I discussed from written compliments and apologies, the DC(C) informants did not show distinctive preferences for certain strategies over others, according to the roles they were assuming. I anticipated that with situations between interactants with the same level of power, thanks would only be brief; with situations that involved status unequals, subordinates would express gratitude more profusely and with a complex combination of strategies; and interactants with more authority, if they used thanks at all, would opt for indirect speech acts. However, my analysis shows that this is not entirely the case, as it emerged that the majority of my informants deployed so much of a mixture of strategies that it was hard to associate these devices with specific relationship types.

I assigned FNs and LNs to all characters in DC(C)s in the hope of making a further investigation into how it is that people of different statuses manipulate address usage in their realisation of thanks. I analysed the three groups of relationship types in thanking exchanges in the 212 dialogue items.

Situations 4, 5, 6, 10 and 15 have to do with individuals with similar status. It was customary to find that my informants consistently opted for address forms characteristic of verbal exchanges between equals, that is FNs or friendship terms only. Other than situation 6 in one returned questionnaire, where only the FN of the addressee was used (*Emmanuel*), other dialogue items each contained between four and eight address forms. The FN *Irene* was chosen twice, while the same person was also called *my dear* (once) and *mate* (once). *George* was referred to by his FN three times and *mate* also three times. *Edward* was

addressed by his FN three times and as *mate* five times. *Gabrielle* was the only character whose FN came in several variants: apart from the normal version of her FN which occurred twice (as in example 47), I also found *Gab* once, *Gaby* once and *Gabbie* twice.

Example 47 (situation 15)
Bryan: Cheers, Gabrielle.

Now considering address forms among dyads with unequal power, I first discuss results from situations 1, 3, 7, 11 and 14, which relate to written thanks given upwards. Forms of address and deferential terms typical of speech styles from subordinates were employed infrequently in these experimental dialogues, ranging between twice and five times in each questionnaire. *Michelle* was the character who was addressed only by her FN (5 times). *Stuart* was addressed by his FN once and as *Mr Roberts* once. *John West* (as the Minister of Education) received the FN *John* once, *Sir* once and *Mr West* three times, as in example 48.

Example 48 (situation 7)
Victoria: Thank you very much, Mr West.

Walton Sunley was referred to as *Walton* and *Mr Sunley* once each. *Karen Bateson* (as a dance instructor) was called *Karen* by her student three times and *Miss Bateson* also three times.

Another domain of power dominance concerns exchanges between superordinates to those socially below them or thanks given downwards (situations 2, 8, 9, 12 and 13). As in chapters 6 and 7, people with more superiority in status and authority addressed their more powerless interactants with address forms similar to those found in friend-to-friend exchanges. This view also conforms to written thanks. *Jane* and *Eva* were called by their FNs twice and five times respectively. *Ian* was called by his Vice President with his FN six times and once with the solidarity-laden term *old boy* (as in example 49).

Example 49 (situation 8)
Roger: Many thanks, old boy.

Christopher was addressed with his FN four times and as *Chris* once. The imaginary thankee *Virginia* was not referred to by any address forms at all.

Generally speaking, informants who participated in the questionnaire survey were consistent in their selection of situationally and interpersonally appropriate forms of address. As a consequence, we are able to generalise that the majority of imaginary characters in three different role types were kept apart quite clearly, according to their ranks, positions and degrees of authority.

7.4.1.3 Responding to Written Thanks

The analysis of responses to written thanks was undertaken on the basis of 212 dialogue items in which explicit speech acts of thanking were incorporated, in order to compare the results with the natural data, as illustrated in table 7.8.

Table 7.8 Responses to Written British English Thanks

Response Types	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. Accept	**110 (51.9%)**	75 (25%)
B. Evade	**78 (36.8%)**	14 (4.7%)
C. Reject	**5 (2.4%)**	6 (2%)
D. Responsive thanks	**2 (0.9%)**	19 (6.3%)
E. No response provided/expected	**17 (8%)**	186 (62%)
Total	**212 (100%)**	300 (100%)

Responses were classified into their general categories. The most regularly chosen responses fell into the accept type (A), accountable for about half of the entire data set (110 instances or 51.9%), as in example 50. The second most frequently used response type were answers of the evade type (B), where the recipients of thanks deflected the heaviness of the object of gratitude by sidestepping the issue or alluding to something else (78 instances or 36.8%).

Example 50 (situation 14)
Josephine: Oh, that's lovely. Thank you.
Karen: No worries. Take it as inspiration.

Other strategies featured rather infrequently: the 'no response' type (E) occurred 17 times (8%), the reject type (C) five times (2.4%), and answering with responsive thanks (D) occurred only twice (0.9%).

Considering the two sets of data as a whole, we see that the most frequently used responding strategy in the questionnaires differs from the most frequent one in the natural data, with the former indicating accepting thanks as the most regular device, but the latter showing an enormous preference for not providing any answer to thanks. This difference, as with written compliments and apologies, may be an unfortunate outcome of differing research methodologies, with the questionnaire format possibly putting a subconscious pressure on the informants to give answers that reveal overt norms of behaviour but that misrepresent naturally occurring speech (see 5.4.1.3 and 6.4.1.3). It is likely then that the written data provide insights into the norms of polite usage, whereas the natural data reveal actual usage. If we disregard the frequencies of the E type, it seems clear that, by and large, British people deem it suitable to respond to thanks with accepting expressions such as *it's OK*; *no problem*; *that's alright* or *don't mention it*. This can also be regarded as a preference for a negative politeness strategy that compensates for the social disequilibrium incurred by

the debts and the token that the hearer is satisfied about the way the speaker has chosen to acknowledge his/her gratefulness.

7.4.2 Thai Questionnaire Data

7.4.2.1 Written Thai Thanking Strategies

The analysis of responses from 20 copies of the Thai version of DC(C) is based on 288 dialogue items that contained at least one of the explicit thanking routines in the A type. I find it interesting to note that, unlike the British English questionnaires, the majority of Thai dialogue items were more appropriately completed, with only 12 out of 300 available situations either simply left blank or not consisting of direct speech acts.

Table 7.9 Written Thai Thanking Strategies

Thanking Strategies	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. An explicit expression of gratitude		
A01 *khɔ̀ɔbkhun* (general)	**184 (45.2%)** (performatives=23) (formulae=161)	154 (65.5%) (performatives=18) (formulae=136)
A02 *khɔ̀ɔbcaj* (power-neutral and/or other-depreciating)	**93 (22.9%)** (performatives=42) (formulae=51)	32 (13.6%) (performatives=2) (formulae=30)
A03 *khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun* (formal, deferential)	**18 (4.4%)** (performatives=10) (formulae=8)	8 (3.4%) (performatives=4) (formulae=4)
A04 *khɔ̀ɔbphráthaj* (directed to royal personages only)	—	2 (0.9%)
A05 English *thank you*	**1 (0.2%)**	5 (2.1%)
B. An account or acknowledgement of favour	**64 (15.7%)**	8 (3.4%)
C. An expression of admiration and well-wishing		
C1 Admiration of the act	**15 (3.7%)**	6 (2.6%)
C2 Admiration of the addressee	**9 (2.2%)**	9 (3.8%)
D. An indication of unnecessity of favour	**10 (2.5%)**	9 (3.8%)
E. A promise of repayment	**2 (0.5%)**	2 (0.9%)
F. An expression showing considerateness	**11 (2.7%)**	—
Total	**407 (100%)**	235 (100%)

Table 7.9 provides the comparative results for the elicited and natural findings. I was able to identify 407 gratitude moves of Thai thanks from my questionnaire survey, and I classified them into five categories. The results obtained show a matched correlation with the naturally occurring set of data.

As I expected, the largest number of Thai questionnaire respondents relied on the A01 expression *khɔ̀ɔbkhun*. This routine was called for as many as 184 times (45.2%), as illustrated in the first utterance in example 51. The second most regularly selected explicit

speech act of thanking was the A02 expression *khɔ̀ɔbcaj*, featured in 93 instances (22.9%), as in the first utterance in example 52. The *khɔ̀ɔbcaj* variant should occur only in interactions among peers or where thanks are given downwards, and my data indicate that none of the informants violated this culture-specific custom in their answers.

Example 51 (situation 11)
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun ʔaacaan mâag khráb thîi penhùaŋ/ phǒm khɔ̂jjaŋchûa lέεw khráb/
thank you lecturer really SFP[1] that WORRY/ I FEEL better PST SFP[1]/
A: 'Thank you very much for your concern, sir. I'm feeling better now'.

Example 52 (situation 9)
A: khɔ̀ɔbcaj mâag ná khun phɔɔnphímon/ mâjnâa sĭa ŋən sýy maa ləəj/
thank you really SFP[2.1] HON FN/ shouldn't LOSE money BUY COME SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thanks a lot, Pornpimol. You really shouldn't have spent your money on this'.

Example 53 (situation 1)
A: khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun mâag ná khá phûucàdkaan/ thâa phûucàdkaan mii ʔaraj hâj
thank you really SFP[2.1] SFP[1] manager/ if manager HAVE what GIVE
naa chûaj đâaj karunaa bɔ̀ɔg dûaj ná khá/
FN HELP can please TELL also SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/
A: 'Thank you very much, sir. If you have anything that I can help you with, please let me know'.

The *khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun* variant connotes formality and deference, and in my data, was used to superordinates only. It exemplified the third most frequently chosen thanking device, accounting for 18 instances (4.4%), as in the first utterance in example 53. Further, there was only one dialogue item (0.2%) in which a simple English *thank you* was selected in thanking a colleague (situation 4). I did not come across any instance of the royalty-directed variant (A04); this appears to indicate a pervasive perception amongst my questionnaire respondents that commoners are not entitled to exchange *khɔ̀ɔbphráthaj* among themselves.

Now we consider other gratitude moves. An acknowledgement of favour (B type), the most frequently recurring strategy, has 64 tokens (15.7%) in my written corpus, as shown in the second utterance in example 51. The C type, with two sub-categories, was a considerably less common subsidiary implicit thanking device. My respondents displayed a greater tendency for expressing admiration for the object (or act) of favour-giving (15 instances or 3.7%, as in the second utterance in example 54) than to giving credit to the hearers (9 instances or 2.2%, as in also the second utterance in example 55).

Example 54 (situation 9)
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun mâag khráb/ sŭaj dii ná/
thank you really SFP[1]/ beautiful really SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thanks a lot. It's very beautiful'.

Example 55 (situation 4)
A: khɔ̀ɔbcaj mâag cà/ thəə nâarág caŋ ləəj/
thank you really SFP[2.1]/ you cute really SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thanks very much. You're so sweet'.

With the D strategy, I identified altogether 10 instances (2.5%), as in the second utterance in example 52. Finally, the E strategy was the least common supporting gratitude move, as there were only two instances (0.5%), as shown in the first utterance in example 53. The outcome of the Thai questionnaire survey called forth an additional gratitude move that did not feature in a single instance in either the Thai natural data or the British English data. I assigned this strategy the sixth place (F type) in the classificatory model in table 7.9, under the label 'an expression showing considerateness'. What I mean by this is that it is quite commonplace in Thai conversations to verbalise phrases that contain words such as *kreeŋcaj* ('fears of causing trouble on others') and *ròbkuan* ('BOTHER' or 'IMPOSE') when entering into the debt of someone.

Example 56 (situation 10)
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun ná há thîi ʔùdsàa chuan kin khâw thîi bâan/
thank you SFP[2.1] SFP[2.1] that TAKE the trouble PERSUADE EAT RICE at home/
kreeŋcaj jêɛ lɔ̀ɔj/
fears to trouble really SFP[2.1]/
A: 'Thank you for inviting me to dinner at your place. I really feel bad to trouble you'.

This view has been recorded in the literature about Thai social life (Cooper and Cooper, 1996; Redmond, 1998), and has been claimed to be widely operative in many Oriental cultures such as Chinese (Chen, 1990/1991) and Japanese (Wierzbicka, 1997; Doi, 1986), but much less so in Western cultures. In this corpus, there are 11 such instances (2.7%), one of which can be found in example 56.

7.4.2.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Written Thai Thanks

The effects of relative power status as shown in thanking exchanges between invented dyads are explored in this section. The analysis is based on 288 dialogue items in the Thai version of DC(C)s that incorporated explicit thanks.

Dialogue items 4, 5, 6, 10 and 15 aimed to investigate thanks between individuals with the same status, especially in terms of job rank, expertise in occupation or level of education. All five imaginary characters were quite often called by the address forms, notably FNs and TFNs, characteristic of this relationship type. Full FNs, on their own, were used once both for *Suchart* and *Rachanok*. Shortened FNs were also called for between one to four times for each character, such as *Wilaiwan* becoming *Wi*, *Wilai* or just *Wan*, and *Chaiyuth* being shortened to *Yuth*. TFNs were used between two and four times for each of the three characters: *khun Suchart*, *khun Chaiyuth* and *khun Rachanok* (who once received a title plus shortened FN *khun Nok*). Example 57 shows an instance of an FN being used. With regard to terms of personal reference, the pronouns selected were also of a similar nature to those used between equals in natural conversations. I came across four variants for first-

person reference (*phŏm* 15 times; *raw* 10 times; *chăn* 7 times; and *khâa* only once), and also four variants for second-person reference (*khun* 4 times; *naaj* 5 times; *thəə* 3 times and *kɛɛ* twice).

Example 57 (situation 14)
A: khɔ̀ɔbcaj ná rádchanóg/
thank you SFP[2.1] FN/
A: 'Thank you, Rachanok'.

A great variety of SFPs indicating solidarity and politeness were consistently employed; among the most frequent ones that occurred in isolation, *ná* was found as often as 39 times, *khráb*, 32 times and *cá*, 18 times. I also encountered a lot of combinations of SFPs, notably *ná khráb* (14 times) and *ná cá* (11 times).

Written thanks given upwards were represented in dialogue items 1, 3, 7, 11 and 14. I found a similar pattern to the written Thai compliments and apologies, with the DC(C) informants not employing FNs to address the hearers in the second turns of conversations at all. This is another indication that, very sensitive to status differences, Thai people never consider calling their superordinates (whether bosses, teachers and so on) by their FNs as doing so implies disrespect (unlike English usage). Occupation titles and TFNs were used, though very irregularly, as alternatives for three addressees out of five. The company manager (*Pirun*) was addressed with *phûucàdkaan* ('manager') twice (as in example 53) and *thân* (deferential title) once. *Adisorn*, the Minister of Education, was addressed with *thân* twice and with TFN once. *Suwit*, as a lecturer, was called by his job title (*aacaan*) once. Considering personal pronouns, only three of all five characters referred to themselves with first-person pronouns: there were 19 instances of *phŏm* and 10 instances of *dichăn* as formal variants. By contrast, second-person pronouns (and words used as pronouns) were deployed more frequently for all characters. Those chosen by my informants were either occupational titles or TFNs. *Pirun* was referred to as *khun Pirun* twice and *phûucàdkaan* seven times and *Supranee* had her name preceded with *khun* (HON) twice. The remaining addressees were referred to with *thân* (HON) nine times and occupation titles such as *ʔaacaan* 22 times and *khunkhruu* ('teacher') once. SFPs did not feature in as much variety as between equals. The three most frequently found SFPs that featured in isolation were *khà* (46 times), *khráb* (18 times) and *ná* (13 times). SFPs were also found in combination, which made the dialogues sound more solidarity-oriented, with 12 instances of *ná kha* and 9 instances of *ná khráb* being the most recurrent mixtures.

The last group of role relationships is related to thanks given from people with more status, downwards (situations 2, 8, 9, 12 and 13). A very noticeable finding is that the overall distribution of the frequency of the linguistic features under study is quite analogous to that reported for status equal interactants. Both groups tended to resort to a vast range (in recurrence as well as variety) of address forms, in contrast to the second group. In a way, this lends support to the perception that thanks are, in general, given more readily and profusely either by friends or people in a superior social position in Thai culture (see 7.3.2.4). Situation 2 did not bring forward even one address form, whereas in other situations, different terms were directed to the invented characters, in the region of four to five times for each of them. To enumerate, TFNs were given to *khun Wutthipong* (3 times), *khun Pornpimol* (twice), *khun Wattana* (twice) and *khun Usawadee* (once). The occurrence of titles plus shortened FNs was also identified: *khun Pong* (once), *khun Porn* (once), *khun Na* (once) and *khun Usa* (once). Each of the first three addressees received just their FNs once. Insofar as personal reference is concerned, I found that only three characters employed a first-person pronoun (*phǒm*, between once and 11 times) and a pronominally used noun (*khruu* ('teacher'), between 5 and 35 times), as in example 58.

Example 58 (situation 2)
A: khruu khɔ̀ɔbcaj thəə mâag ná thîi penhùaŋ khruu/ tɔɔnníi khruu diikhŷn mâag
teacher thank you you really SFP[2.1] that WORRY teacher/ now teacher GET better really
lɛ́ɛw/
PST/
A: 'Thank you for your concern. I am starting to get a lot better now'.

For second-person reference, only two characters were referred to in the questionnaire conversations with pronouns. *Karunaa* was addressed by her teacher (*Pirun*) with variants typical of those directed to younger or status equal females such as *thəə* (8 times) and *nǔu* (once). *Usawadee* was referred to by her manager as *khun Usawadee* (3 times) and simply *khun* (twice). Lastly, many formal as well as friendly SFPs were called for in all five dialogue situations. The most common ones were *ná* (45 times), *khráb* (34 times) and *ləəj* (eight times). The most regularly featured SFP combinations were *ná khráb*, featuring 14 times altogether.

7.4.2.3 Responses to Written Thai Thanks

Responses from 288 dialogue situations in Thai DC(C)s were used as a basis of analysis to examine how the Thai questionnaire informants chose to respond to the direct speech acts of thanking. I illustrate the findings from the questionnaire survey and the natural data together in table 7.10. Referring back to 7.4.1.3, an obvious drawback was that the informants may

have unknowingly written down responses without realising that these may not harmonise with spontaneous speech. And, as I mentioned earlier, the elicited findings may relate to overt norms rather than to actual speech. The same problem seems infectious here also, as we can see in the contradiction between the most common response types in the DC data, on the one hand, and the most frequent response types in the naturally occurring data, on the other hand. Problems on such methodological grounds can be hard to deal with. Nonetheless, if we consider the responses from the A, B, C and D types only, irrespective of instances where there was obvious silence and absence of communication (whether verbal and non-verbal), the two data sets can, then, be seen to have more in common.

Table 7.10 Responding Strategies to Written Thai Thanks

Response Types	Elicited Findings	Natural Findings
A. Accept	**216 (75%)**	61 (31.4%)
B. Evade	**66 (22.9%)**	20 (10.3%)
C. Reject	**3 (1%)**	8 (4.1%)
D. Responsive thanks	**2 (0.7%)**	12 (6.2%)
E. No response provided/expected	**1 (0.3%)**	93 (47.9%)
Total	**288 (100%)**	194 (100%)

As in table 7.10, the distribution of the A type (accept) stands out from other strategies, since it encompasses as many as 216 instances (75%). The most common expression associated with accepting elicited Thai thanks was the conventionalised formula *mâjpenraj* (generally occurring with various grammatical extensions), an equivalent of English *that's OK* or *that's alright*, as in example 59.

Example 59 (situation 7)
A: dichán khɔ̌ɔ khɔ̀ɔbphrákhun thân jàaŋmâg khà/
I REQUEST thank you you really SFP[1]/
B: mâjpenraj khráb/
that's OK SFP[1]/
A: 'Thank you very much indeed, sir'.
B: 'It's my pleasure'.

Example 60 (situation 5)
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun mâag ná khráb sămràb khɔ̌ɔŋfàag/ sŭaj mâag khráb/
thank you really SFP[2.1] SFP[1] for souvenir/ beautiful really SFP[1]/
B: diicaj thîi khun chɔ̀ɔb ná khráb/
glad that you LIKE SFP[2.1] SFP[1]/
A: 'Thanks so much for the souvenir. It's very beautiful'.
B: 'I'm glad you like it'.

Compared with the British English counterparts, Thai questionnaire characters in the second parts of the responses tended to agree more openly with the benefactors in any one of the A type utterances, whereas under similar circumstances, the British counterparts generally seemed to forget making reference to a direct act of thanking. Numerous responses in the first parts of the dialogues began with explicit thanks, followed by other subsidiary devices

that sometimes made the wording of speakers A long-winded. This could result in speakers B absent-mindedly putting the issue of favour-giving aside and going on to talk about something else. Hence, in this particular case, I suggest that once some kind of favour is given to them, Thai people are prone to respond with agreeing routines more often, echoing their higher sensitivity of obligation when in the debt of someone. The second most frequent strategy was the B type (evade) where responders changed their focus to issues other than favour giving (66 instances or 22.9%), as in example 60. Instances representing other response types occurred very irregularly indeed: the C type (reject) featured three times (1%), the D type (responsive thanks) took place twice (0.7%). There was only one dialogue situation (0.3%) where the informant stated she would rather not say anything (E type).

7.5 Conclusions

The speech act of thanking is, without doubt, another integral component of the expressives, very much like compliments and apologies. Proficient members of society are expected (though not rigidly required) to use thanks in appropriate circumstances to stimulate and ensure maximum efficiency in interpersonal communication. I have argued here that thanking behaviour shows deference and respect from one speaker to another, to a greater extent than expressing in-group solidarity. So it is evident that it fulfils such expressive illocutionary forces predominantly as a matter of 'negative' politeness.

As my natural data have shown, thanks can be identified, given their regular syntactic and lexical elements, as conversational routines in British English (see also Aijmer, 1996). This finding may explain the structural formulaicity of thanks in other varieties of English also. Previous studies, for instance, by Greif and Gleason (1980) and Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) provide powerful support for this contention. After being classified into five broad topics of occurrence, my corpus data have demonstrated that native speakers of British English thanked each other most often for services and routine jobs, and least often for gifts and gratuities. As regards social relationships, it transpired that friends and colleagues were the group responsible for uttering thanks most regularly, justifying Wolfson's (1988) prediction in the Bulge model. Exchanging thanks is also a speech event where interactants negotiate their power status, and in my corpus, it appeared that gratitude expressions were given overwhelmingly between status equals. In a broader perspective, then, the likely implication is that thanking tends to be most common when two speakers stand on the same social ground, either through social intimacy (D) or power authority (P). Although gender issues have been previously postulated as influential factors in the production of verbal strategies, the evidence from my project does not lend substantial support to that idea. There was only negligible variation between women and men in giving thanks, whether in cross-

gender or single-gender groups. Responses to thanks attested that the 'preferred second' of explicit thanks was to accept the verbal gratefulness with a certain range of routine formulae, most of which are strikingly similar to apology-responding devices.

The contrastive investigation of the Thai data within the same framework gave many interesting findings. First of all, thanking behaviour in Thai appeared to have a similar pattern of routinisation as that in British English. Thai thanking formulae were also found to serve communicative and interpersonal functions in a no less dissimilar manner to British English. Nevertheless, there was a limited number of conventionalised expressions for showing gratitude in Thai, and sometimes a specific kind of non-verbal communication was employed as a complementary (or sometimes independent) strategy. Thanks occurred on the same five broad topics as in the British data, suggesting that Thai culture does not differ much from British culture in this respect. Exchanges of presents may have been far more prevalent in Thai society; that is why thanks for gifts as well as gratuities were frequently heard, especially among women. With regard to the relationships between speakers, my Thai informants, on the whole, had the habit of producing thanks to those with equivalent social standing, be it in terms of solidarity, power or even seniority (age). My analysis of the Thai data did not reveal much variation with gender, as with the British data. A further affinity with the British data set is that, in Thailand, it was also the accept type that was almost always chosen in responding to thanks, unlike what I had previously anticipated, which was that most responses would be met with disagreeing or rejecting expressions.

The chief goal of undertaking the questionnaire surveys was to give an additional perspective on the natural data by providing information unavailable by means of observation. The examination into the three areas of enquiry (i.e. forms of thanks, social identities and responses to thanks) assigned to the two sets of DC(C)s in both languages have supplied results that mostly match very well with what was reported from the natural findings. However, in written responses to thanks, there was a discrepancy between the most frequent responses, due perhaps to a distinction between social norms and actual usage. Generally speaking, however, both British and Thai individuals who took part in the written role play situations gave answers that corresponded not only to the types and frequencies of the natural thanking strategies, but also to the types and frequencies of responses to them in the respective cultures. In addition, the choice of address forms (plus terms of reference and SFPs for the Thai questionnaire survey) has indicated that both British and Thai informants exercised sensible and consistent judgements as to how and to whom to use thanks and other politeness devices effectively.

CHAPTER 8

Concluding Remarks

This chapter offers a summary of the main points investigated and discussed in this work. I re-examine the commonalities, co-occurrences and multifunctionality of compliments, apologies and thanks, from sociolinguistic and linguistic politeness perspectives. Moreover, I stress the necessity of assimilating communicative competence and conversational routines as a means to maximally facilitate cross-cultural interactions. On the understanding that language can be best described together with how people use and live by it, I also underline the indispensability of appreciating social norms of different speech communities. Since methodological issues predominate the ways in which linguistic data are obtained and interpreted, I attempt to re-evaluate them, in particular the triangulation approach to data collection. I also give recommendations for additional research in the area of speech acts and linguistic politeness.

8.1 Expressive Speech Acts Revisited

Searle (1971: 40) contends that speech acts are a vital constituent of linguistic communication. Needless to say, it is not simply an unremarkable natural phenomenon when someone makes a certain speech sound – the production of utterances always serves some purpose and/or indicates some intention (whether consciously or not) on the part of the speaker. Among other classes of speech acts, the expressives are concerned with the manifestation of emotional and psychological states. In the light of the CP's rigorous idealisation, they may not be very informative; however, expressive speech acts are neither meaningless nor unimportant, given the bearing they have on initiating, maintaining and terminating social relationships. Expressive speech acts are ordinary occurrences in everyday conversation. We frequently find the need to greet, praise and thank, in very much the same way as we frequently deem it necessary to agree, disagree, apologise, express condolences and say goodbye. It is, therefore, in the interest of anyone wishing to guarantee successful communication to possess a sufficient understanding of how expressive speech acts are realised and how to make good use of them.

The present study draws comparisons between compliments, apologies and thanks in British English and Thai. It asserts that the three expressives in both languages are, to a varying degree, formulaic by nature, in the sense that their internal structures are rooted in a restricted repertoire of grammatical and semantic choices. Compliments are positively affective politeness strategies, which have to do with the assertion of in-group solidarity and

the exchange of good-natured pleasantries; by contrast, apologies and thanks have a shared orientation as negatively affective politeness strategies, which focus on self-effacement and respect as well as attenuating various kinds of impositions. Having said that, the necessity of uttering compliments is relatively not as great; the reinforcement of social bonds (positive politeness) is superseded by the desires to gain/offer deference and rectify disequilibrium (negative politeness). It can be substantiated that apologies and thanks are more characteristic of how people conceptualise politeness. To illustrate further, I participated in several speech situations (during the course of my fieldwork in London and Bangkok) in which compliments, apologies and thanks could have been given (but were not). I then carried out, whenever possible, informal post hoc enquiries by requesting the individuals involved to recall those incidents and give the reason why they had not uttered these speech acts. It transpired that most subjects confidently accounted for their non-production of compliments as being due to the assessment that compliments had not been necessary or that the other interlocutors had not needed to be praised in such contexts. On the other hand, the majority of British and Thai speakers, despite my truthful statements to the contrary, remained very adamant that they had indeed produced apologies and thanks in each case, and explained that it would have been rude not to admit guilt or express gratitude.

The illocutionary forces of compliments, apologies and thanks can be located at many points along the directness/indirectness scale. The foregoing analyses have primarily dealt with the more direct end of the continuum, but we should not lose sight of the fact that less direct, implicit speech acts are also capable of performing similar functions. Influenced by a number of social and contextual factors, different situations require different types of politeness. Some utterances are produced by means of conventionalised devices (such as IFIDs and routinised expressions) and understood in their literal sense, whilst others are premised on less predictable structures whose forces must be contextually implicated. Because direct speech acts are preferred in most circumstances (most notably, apologies and thanks), their absence could connote impoliteness. Our curiosity does not stop here, though. From the opposite angle, too many repetitions of explicitly delivered expressives can give rise to similar implications (see below). It has been reported in research projects and news bulletins that remedial interchanges seem the most critical mechanism in the negotiation of friendship. Let us consider them a little closer, therefore. When an offence has been committed, the offender must choose at least one variant of these direct strategies, failing which the act of apologising cannot be regarded as well-founded. (In fact, as I am writing these lines, the controversy surrounding the US spy plane crisis has just ended, whereby China released the American air crew only after it had received an 'official letter of apology' from the US President (McGeary, 2001).) Petty infringements such as burping or talking too loudly sometimes go unnoticed or may be followed by indirect speech acts or even

interjections such as *oops!* or *oh dear!* respectively. Both interactants are unlikely to give much thought to them, unless the speaker (the responsible party) wants to show politeness through some verbal apology. More heavily weighted infractions tend to be associated with an elaboration of redressive strategies, with the inclusion of more than one remedial move. Overt reiterations of explicit apologies alone may not be adequate to restore the endangered relationship. As an illustration, a person caught guilty of adultery by his/her partner cannot rely on the continuous use of *sorry*; *excuse me* or *pardon me* in the hope of escaping the incrimination. Before he/she could proceed to grant forgiveness, the partner, on most occasions, needs profuse explanations, offers of repair and/or promises, the phraseology of which should be selected with prudence. Wishy-washy admissions like *I couldn't help it* and *I was too carried away* do not speed up the redressive process as much as a word of reassurance like *I promise that it will never happen again*, which points to the speaker's increased commitment to the sincerity conditions (see Cohen, 1996a: 254). Complimenting and thanking behaviours may have recourse to other (implicit) strategies too, but they do not appear to incorporate such a complex FTA remedy.

Having a number of common properties, expressives that occur within a single sequence of utterances can have analogous discourse roles to the extent that they can be employed interchangeably, as substitutions for each other. According to my British English and Thai findings, thanks and compliments may take place adjacent to one another – either immediately or with some linguistic features in between – as in the spontaneous interactions in example 1 and 2.

Example 1 (reproduced from example 13 in chapter 7)
A middle-aged novelist during a talk show on television. An interviewer gave her a bunch of flowers.
A: Thank you very much. You're so kind. It's my birthday today, so thank you very much once again.
B: [No response].

Example 2
An office worker thanking her junior colleague.
A: khɔ̀ɔbkhun thîi sýy námhɔ̂ɔm maa hâj/ lɔɔŋ cháj lέɛw ná/ hɔ̂ɔm mâag/
thank you for BUY perfume COME GIVE/ TRY USE PST SFP$^{2.1}$/ fragrant really/
B: rə̌ə khá/ pɔ̂m rúu wâa phîi tôŋ chɔ̂ɔb/
SFP$^{2.2}$ SFP^{1}/ NN KNOW that older sibling must LIKE/
A: 'Thanks for buying me the perfume. I've tried it on. Smells very nice'.
B: 'I knew you'd like it [giggled]'!

Instances like these are a source of definitional difficulties. In terms of form, we are able to determine, following the guidelines in the preceding discussions (viz. in chapters 5, 6 and 7), which utterance constitutes a thank and which one constitutes a compliment. But in terms of function (force), both speech acts can be very similar, even if they occur much further apart. Another resemblance is observed in two-turn exchanges; that is to say, compliments may be responded to with thanks, their most preferred seconds. This is less characteristic of remedial interchanges, a notable point of divergence being that apologies coupled with compliments

and/or thanks are extremely rare. Forms and functions may not always coincide, and it is difficult to state in absolute terms what (and how many) illocutionary forces a linguistic form that looks like an expressive can fulfil. Compliments can aptly indicate gratefulness, the primary function of thanks. Thanks can, in turn, serve the fundamental function of compliments, as expressions of admiration and yet they are more versatile, in that they also attend to negative face wants as do apologies. It should be noted that, when analysed as paired items, compliments and apologies hardly share other similarities, besides belonging to the same speech act category.

8.2 Language Learning and Cross-Cultural Issues of Politeness[1]

Speech act usage has a strong conditioning effect on the management of friendship, not only for people who speak the same language, but also for those who come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983, for example). Among native speakers, obtaining competence in the first language (L1) is done through the natural process of socialisation, which permits them to gain control over a conversation with their fellows with considerable ease. Nevertheless, the mastery of L1 does not ensure that the speakers will be able to interact entirely successfully either when with second-language (L2) speakers or, in reverse situations, when they are L2 speakers themselves. Communication difficulties at an interlanguage level can range from very minimal to very burdensome, depending on how related the two languages in question are, in their structural, historical and geographical affinities. For instance, although learners whose mother tongues are of Western European origin (like English) such as Danish (Trosbørg, 1987) and Venezuelan Spanish (García, 1989) display a different preference for strategies of remedial interchanges when compared to native English speakers, they do not, on the whole, seem to encounter as many problems in becoming proficient in the use of apologies as Japanese speakers, who are more inclined to misjudge whether or not to deploy apologies and thanks, and which speech events demand them (cf. Coulmas, 1981; Ikoma, 1993; Ide, 1998; Kumatoridani, 1999; Tanaka et al., 2000). In 2.3.4, I mentioned that every society has its own conventions of appropriate, polite linguistic behaviour. Interactions across cultural lines necessitate more than the selection of suitable syntactic and lexical features; the participants must take into consideration the importance of coming to grips with the grammar *plus* rules of speaking of the target language (see Wolfson, 1983b). In other words, the acquisition of 'grammatical competence' must go hand-in-hand with gaining 'communicative competence' (Hymes, 1962, 1972; Wolfson, 1981b).

[1] Portions of this discussion are taken from my paper presented at the SIETAR UK Conference on Globalisation, Foreign Languages and Intercultural Learning (Intachakra, 2001).

For several decades, the notion of communicative competence has been the subject of voluminous research interest. The research tells us that even the most talented of L2 learners who fail to distinguish these nuances may stand a good chance of being unsuccessful with the internalisation of 'what to talk about', 'when', 'where', 'how' and 'to whom' (see also Saville-Troike, 1989; Brislin and Yoshida, 1994). Bilingual speakers are not necessarily bicultural (Kuiper and Lin, 1989). According to Thomas (1983: 96), grammatical errors produced by learners may be 'irritating and impede communication', but native speakers spot them easily and make allowances for such inadequacies. In terms of errors in syntax, reciprocating a favour with *very appreciate* is attributable to a Korean person's unfamiliarity with the correct intensifier for the transitive verb APPRECIATE (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986). With reference to phonetics, Japanese does not make a distinction between the following phoneme pairs: /r/ vs. /l/ and /v/ vs. /b/ (Pinker, 1994: 172), so a Japanese businessman would be sympathised with when he expresses his admiration with *this steak is rubbery* (instead of *lovely*) to an English waitress. Errors can also be located in the choice of lexicon. Most Thais are not oblivious of the difference between EAT and DRINK in their language. However, an ordinary practice is to say *kin* ('EAT') rather than *dìym* ('DRINK') with any food consumption. This is perhaps the reason why I sometimes hear Thai learners of English absent-mindedly saying *I would like to eat some cranberry juice* when ordering their beverages.

Thomas (1983) directs our attention to a double-dimensional explanatory framework for this phenomenon: 'failure in pragmatic transfer', classifiable into 'pragmalinguistic failure' and 'sociopragmatic failure'. The examples I have just cited above are concerned with pragmalinguistic failures, as a consequence of learners adopting grammatical systems unusual for native standards of acceptability (Thomas, 1983: 101). By contrast, sociopragmatic failures are the outcome of an insufficient awareness of cultural appropriateness (related much less to formal linguistic features). Risks to social relations are invisible to learners who, on the assumption that their own cultural expectations are identical to those valued in the target language, make negative transfer of social norms and belief systems directly on to their interlanguage. As touched upon earlier in 5.3.2.3, Chinese culture treasures the physical characteristic of being plump, unlike in Anglo-American societies, where people are encouraged to lose weight and remain slim (Yang, 1987). From a sociopragmatic perspective, I very much doubt that a culture-insensitive Chinese praising a host in fluent English, with *God, you're very lucky to be so fat* with impeccable intonation and Received Pronunciation (RP), would have much probability of sustaining camaraderie with the complimentee.

A large proportion of my corpus data parallel those from earlier investigations into speech act behaviours, in that compliments, apologies and thanks have fixed grammatical structures and are used routinely by speakers of several languages – in this case, including the British variety of English and Thai. Owing to such regular formulaicity, many scholars (e.g. Holmes and Brown, 1987; Holmes, 1988a, 1988b) advocate that conventionalised speech acts make very promising English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) pedagogical materials. This proposal also holds, in my opinion, when it comes to foreign learners of Thai. I shall put forward other recommendations that even though in-depth instruction of both linguistic and cultural issues is beyond the general requirements of a language/training course, curriculum practitioners and syllabus designers are seriously responsible for finding a suitable compromise and making both ends meet. In addition, language teachers should be trained to impart facts (preferably those obtained through empirical investigations) with regard to the realisation of conversational routines, so as to sensitise learners to apply them appropriately in real-life situations (cf. Sifianou, 1992; Tiancharoen, 1987).

Of course, a language course does not involve just the teaching of conversational routines, but it is clear that this shortcut is conducive to the development of communicative competence and, hopefully, the mastery of a new language. Jaworski (1990: 398) makes a relevant conjecture: '[conversational routines] can be used frequently and give the impression of fluency in a foreign language. They are also seemingly easy to learn; formulas are learnt by memorising single items before grasping the full or even partial understanding of the entire grammatical system'. The findings that I analysed for this study are beneficial for another crucial reason: students can familiarise themselves as to the contexts where native speakers are likely (or unlikely) to make use of expressive speech acts. Once learners have become more proficient in language and cultural skills, they no longer need to be anxious about creating originality of expression and can employ compliments, apologies and thanks – bearing in mind the relative frequencies and social as well as situational constraints on usage – to generate feelings of warmth, solidarity and politeness between themselves and the native speakers.

Further, I introduced in 5.3 the hypotheses that conversations are structured activities and our ability to manage talk exchanges derives from past experiences of what we have heard others say before; our job is merely to accommodate the predictable utterances to our own purposes (see Nunan, 1993: 69-70; Brown and Yule, 1983). Learners can also benefit a great deal from these speculations. I would like to add a few more points here to this aspect of discourse. By way of illustration, the purchase of a newspaper involves some behavioural and linguistic frames. There are numerous possible utterances that the buyer and the seller could produce. But if the customer does not make the first move to say something after

handing the newspaper to the shop assistant, then the latter party will, sooner or later, come up with phrases such as *one pound please*; *is that all?*; and so on. Such a stereotypical situation normally ends with either or both speakers exchanging thanking formulae, notably *thanks*; *thank you*; *thanks a lot* or *cheers*. Some conversational routines are exclusive to certain speech events and participants. A case in point is the English expression *bless you*, to be used only after the addressee has sneezed; it is not called for with other bodily malfunctions such as coughing, belching or hiccupping. The syntactic and semantic structure of *bless you* is strictly invariable; it cannot be replaced by other pronouns as in **bless me* or **bless him* (cf. Aijmer, 1996: 1). This is also true when we want to congratulate someone on their achievement. Besides giving compliments, we are left with not much choice but the idiomatic expression *congratulations*. Insofar as the Thai language is concerned, there are formulae equivalent to the English phrases *good morning* and *good night*. Having said that, with the very occasional exception of style-conscious individuals, average native Thai speakers rarely say *ʔarunsawàd* and *raatriisawàd*, but instead use *sawàddee* for both occasions. Learners of Thai whose mother tongues have time-related phrases in more frequent use (e.g. English, French, German, Chinese and Japanese) can fall back on this language-specific knowledge and refrain from making use of anomalous routines when they have to converse in Thai.

It should be emphasised once again that an ideal aim of foreign language learners is the mastery of the target language. Non-native speakers often bemoan the stamina of 'going native', since there is so vast an array of structures and discourse strategies to be absorbed along the way. Relevant to a point touched upon earlier, I acknowledge that this is not an easily resolvable predicament (in particular, in the case of adult learners) (see Ellis, 1997). However, should learners be adequately informed of the fact that conversations are, by and large, mutually shared scripts, they will be able to distinguish which area they should put more effort into and what features they need to miss out. Rather than advising that students should neither forsake their cultural identity altogether nor adopt the norms of another society (cf. Sifianou, 1992: 208), my personal conviction is: in order to promote cross-cultural communication to the fullest extent, students must learn how to be culturally diverse and adaptable in whatever situation they find themselves in.

Turning back to the major contention of our discussion, we can subscribe to the views that not only are conversational routines interrelated with the manifestation of politeness, they also infiltrate into and govern all levels of interactional and discourse-organising styles (Ferguson, 1976; Coulmas, 1979; Aijmer, 1996). The degrees of formulaicity of linguistic resources that people use vary from language to language (see, among many others, Clyne, 1981; Sifianou, 1992; Gass and Neu, 1996). The present study provides a basis for many interesting results as regards British English and Thai, with a most

noteworthy finding being that expressive speech acts are also conventionalised politeness routines. Recalling their repetitive structural and lexical elements, we find that explicit expressive illocutionary acts in both languages are conventionally fixed in one way or another. The natural and experimental data as a whole show that compliments, apologies and thanks produced by British informants incorporate a wider gamut of formulae as well as a higher chance of occurrences than those uttered by Thai subjects (see 5.5, 6.5 and 7.5). This fact lends itself to a number of interpretations. If we equate politeness with an individual's motivation to be pleasant to others (Thomas, 1995) and to make them feel good (Lakoff, 1973), it would appear then that British people place more emphasis on exhibiting their emotional states through speech forms that show the validity of these precepts. Moreover, this proposal is also consistent with the PP's agreement maxim. Although Leech (1983) does not remark on the correlation between this maxim and the expressives, a close examination will reveal their shared property: that is, the enactment of politeness points to, in Leech's (1983: 138) words, 'a tendency to exaggerate agreement with other people'. Since expressives convey feelings and personal evaluation, speakers who deploy them in a greater variety and frequency are more concerned with maximising agreement and attending to each other's face wants. As many researchers have urged, we should not take an assertion like this to be an argument in favour of one group as being polite (in this case, British), but at the expense of another group as being rude or impolite (in this case, Thai). Informed in this way, we can avoid negative stereotyping and come to appreciate that different groups of people have the right to possess divergent assumptions and perceptions of the world.

Brown and Levinson (1987) are, without doubt, the most prominent figures among all theorists of politeness. The dichotomy of their conceptualisation is influential in accounting for cross-cultural variability. Sifianou (1992), in her research into requesting behaviour in Britain and Greece, confirms that, considering patterns of usage, British culture is negative politeness-oriented and Greek culture is positive-politeness oriented. Concerning my own study, negative politeness strategies that are most directly associated with expressive speech acts are the alleviation of impositions, ceremonial courtesy, exchange of deference and personal independence (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 131), to be contrasted with positive politeness features such as claims to common ground, desires to maintain group interdependence and an ample use of solidarity-laden identity markers (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 102). To put it another way, to reciprocate speech events that trigger off objects of praise, offence and gratitude, speakers from negative politeness cultures would tend to put more effort into verbalising their opinion, whereas there may be fewer opportunities in positive politeness cultures for interactants to negotiate relationships via FTA redress; positive politeness-minded individuals are likely to make do even with the non-production of illocutionary acts and resort to other means of reciprocation (see Olshtain and

Cohen, 1989: 60). My corpus findings in terms of the routinisation of expressive speech acts, when interpreted within these frameworks, show that the British culture may be based on the notion of negative politeness, while Thai culture may be anchored in the concept of positive politeness. It is possible to generalise now that the realisation of compliments, apologies and thanks are a universal phenomenon, though one cannot anticipate that the conventions about praising, expressing regret and displaying gratitude are similar beyond national boundaries. The ritualistic expressions of emotionality characteristic of each speech community are regarded by those who employ them to be appropriate and acceptable (according to criteria such as form, variety, frequency and function) within their generic groups. Patterns of linguistic and social behaviours like these lay themselves open to endless scrutiny and most of the time specific interpretations by members of another society, which could range from *polite*, *elegant*, *eloquent*, *succinct*, *modest*, *taciturn*, *moderate* to *stilted*, *verbose*, *exaggerated*, *unclear*, *inarticulate*, *coarse* and *impolite*. Although my study is not premised on interlanguage data, it will broaden our perspective on how prejudgements can be formed if and when speakers of British English and Thai interact using either one or the other language. I also hope that my findings will contribute towards finding ways to prevent possible communication breakdowns between these two speech communities. Culture-specific behaviours are, for the most part, not intended to cause offence or conflict. If we always rely on our intracultural expectations, without knowing that differences do exist, we can easily arrive at incorrect inferences about what another group of people actually mean when they say something. It is only through careful contemplation, empathy and tolerance that we can help eradicate any such potential misunderstandings.

The study of linguistic politeness has established itself as a sub-branch of linguistics since around the 1970s; it deals with the social life of language and meaning attribution in interactions. It owes a substantial proportion of its present significance to other neighbouring fields of the humanities. The 'maintenance of face', the pivotal dynamic of linguistic politeness, was developed out of the sociological concept of 'facework' (Goffman, 1955, 1959, 1971). As I understand it, the differentiation of negative and positive politeness parallels in an intricate way the ideas of individualism and collectivism, as practised in cross-cultural psychology, comparative sociology and communication studies (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1990; Brislin, 1993; Fijneman et al., 1996, Tafarodi and Swann, 1996; Bond et al., 2000). In broad terms, individualism gives importance to self and incorporates value profiles such as endeavouring to retain personal freedom and contentment with ephemeral friendships, whereas collectivism concentrates on conformity to group goals and personal interdependence, by which everyone constantly seeks to remain connected in some way (Brislin, 1993; Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1988). The notion of individualism and collectivism is related to another dimension of cross-cultural variability: low-context and

high-context communication, with the former accentuating outspokenness, formality and explicit delivery of verbal messages, and the latter being associated with the idea that social conventions are deeply entrenched in everyone's mind and people know what to expect of one another without having to exchange information in an explicit manner. Scholars such as Hofstede (1980) and Gudykunst (2000) propound that British culture is (like many other Western cultures) an individualistic one and that Thai culture (like many other Oriental cultures) is a collectivistic one (cf. Komin, 1991). On the strength of these justifications together with the results from my data analysis, it is not surprising to see why we have encountered throughout our discussions so many different communicative strategies that British and Thai interactants have recourse to when they use compliments, apologies and thanks.

8.3 Some Afterthoughts on the Methodology

Research methodology must be carefully planned and selected before data collectors can proceed with their fieldwork. In spite of the fact that there is a huge assortment of techniques to choose from, researchers often face dilemmas when deciding on the methods suitable for a particular set of problems.

The present study employs the two-pronged approach to data collection. Its findings were analysed from natural observations and experimental procedures. As we discussed in chapter 3 in particular, spontaneous speech provides the most reliable source, while elicited speech also has comparable (though not identical) value. Each data set has its own strengths and limitations, so investigators should acknowledge any such differences in their work. For this project, I have relied heavily on the fieldnote data for the main analysis and resorted to the questionnaire data for cross-checking purposes and supplementary evidence. Although it took a long time for me to achieve an ideal quantity, obtaining the first data sample was relatively untroublesome; I came by the relevant data while pursuing my normal day-to-day activities, and because I had already written down the data, I did not have to transcribe what I had (over)heard into words. On the contrary, with the DC data sample, continuous efforts were expended on the design and on what I aimed the experiment to elicit, on top of which the actual process of questionnaire distribution and finding the most helpful volunteers to act as my informants was extremely laborious. Results from spontaneous conversations have enabled me to study speech act behaviour in its entirety, encompassing the forms and forces of linguistic tokens, topics of occurrence, relationships between speakers and hearers, and responses to utterances. The conversations produced by imaginary characters were limited and could not to lead to the above issues of investigation being treated to the full. For example, factors such as topics, gender, social distance and power status were fixed, and it

was plausible only to compare the structures of the expressives and the answers to them. On the plus side, the dialogue situations, even though decontextualised and limited in this respect, had a tightly controlled format, a fact that also made it possible to systematically examine the use of address forms, personal pronouns and sentence final particles according to the three levels of status dominance between the invented speakers. Looking at the overall outcome, both data sets are proportionately the same, but it could be surmised that natural speech is more illustrative of actual speech usage, whereas written questionnaire items are more representative of each society's rules of speaking.

It has now become clear that mixed methods for data collection (both two-pronged approach and triangulation) provide more access to linguistic resources. An important caveat is that analysts should remind themselves of the advantages and inadequacies of each data collecting procedure and must not jump to conclusions nor expect that the different sets of results will always be convergent. Triangulation, if not adopted with caution, is likely to pose more problems in the first place than it is able to resolve.

8.4 Directions for Further Research

In this thesis, I have provided an examination of linguistic forms and social implications with respect to the three expressives and their impacts on the relationships of interactants in British and Thai societies. Indeed, linguistic politeness is not restricted to behaviours such as complimenting, apologising and thanking alone. I would, therefore, like to invite future researchers to undertake studies into other speech act categories, preferably in as many speech communities as possible in order to unveil similarities and differences in norms of politeness across cultural lines. Such attempts will also determine the extent to which the classificatory as well as theoretical frameworks currently practised could enjoy universal validity, and discover whether there are other interpretative models that would explain conversational strategies more comprehensively. Lastly, I put forward a proposal that we need additional investigations that integrate the analyses of verbal messages with non-verbal clues and prosodic features (i.e. pitch, loudness and tempo), so as to bring to light a holistic perspective on interpersonal communication.

APPENDIX A

Fieldnote Record (reduced size)

No.	S	Details of speakers				Dialogue	Description of situation
		Gender	Age	Class	Occupation		
	A						
	B						
	A						
	B						
	A						
	B						
	A						
	B						
	A						
	B						

APPENDIX B

Discourse Construction Questionnaire (A)

I would be very thankful for your help with my research. This questionnaire involves dialogue situations between two individuals, which you are asked to consider and respond to. Please read the following guidance notes carefully before you attempt to complete this questionnaire.

Guidance Notes

1. Imagine that you are speaking for both individuals in each turn. Write in the space provided at the end of each situation the dialogue(s) that you consider would be ***most natural*** and ***most appropriate*** to the context and social standing of each speaker. An example of a conversation that could follow is:

(Example) After a class, Steven walks to the vending machine to buy a cup of tea. Realising that he has no change in his pocket, he turns to Frederick his classmate, who is standing next to him. Steven needs some change. What type of conversation do you think would take place?

Steven: *Could I borrow 50p for a cup of tea, Fred? I'm right out of change.*

Frederick: *Hang on, I'll check... Ah! There you go.*

2. ***Please complete all dialogue situations in this questionnaire.*** However, if you have any difficulties with the questionnaire, which lead you not to answer any of the dialogue situations, or if you feel that it would not be appropriate to respond, please give a reason for your decision in each case. In circumstances where you feel non-verbal communication (i.e. smiling, nodding) would take place, please also state this in your answer.

3. If you feel that there are any inadequacies within the descriptions of the dialogue situations and you would like to make a comment, a space has been provided on the last page for this purpose. (N.B. The questionnaire may strike you as repetitive in places, but this is necessary for the research design.)

Your Personal Details (Please tick or respond as appropriate)

- Age: ☐ 15-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61+ (years)
- Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
- Your nationality: .....
- Your mother tongue(s): .....
- Other languages that you can speak: .....
- Your present occupation: .....
- Your father's occupation: .....
- Your mother's occupation: .....
- The city/town (and country, if not the UK) where you were brought up:

.....

- The type of secondary and further educational establishments that you attended (i.e. several boxes may apply): ☐ state school ☐ boarding school ☐ public school ☐ college ☐ university
- Your marital status: ☐ single ☐ married ☐ divorced ☐ other (please specify: .....)
- The newspaper(s) that you read most often is(are): .....

Dialogue Situations

Situation 1: Robert Hewitt, the chief executive of a company, recently returned from holiday overseas with a very unique and distinctive watch as a souvenir. Billy Austin, the office messenger, notices the new watch as he is delivering a package to Robert. Billy is keen to express his liking of it. What conversation do you think would take place? (8: 3.2)

Billy: .....

.....

Robert: .....

.....

Situation 2: Sarah Perrett comes to work one day with a new hair style. Tina Baldwin, her colleague, feels that it has greatly enhanced her appearance and is keen to express her liking of it. What do you think the two would say to each other in this situation? (1: 1.1)

Tina: .....

.....

Sarah: .....

.....

Situation 3: Catherine Kay is a school teacher. Her tremendous sense of humour and her ability to laugh and have fun are greatly admired by all of her students and fellow teachers. Catherine has a casual chat with the Principal, John Chesterfield, in the staff recreation lounge. Catherine recalls to him, in her usual jovial and animated way, some of the amusing situations which she encountered on her recent holiday. They end up laughing together. He has enjoyed her company, and is keen to compliment her on her cheerful characteristics. What do you think each would say in this scenario? (12: 4.3)

John: .....

.....

Catherine: .....

.....

Situation 4: Dorothy Eagleton, an interior designer, has prepared a colour scheme for an important client. Jason Whitehead, one of her colleagues recognises the hard work which has gone into this particularly complex project. He also appreciates the colour matches within the scheme and finds that they very much suit his particular taste. He expresses his appreciation and admiration to Dorothy over lunch. What do you think Jason would say and how would Dorothy respond? (4: 2.1)

Jason: .....

.....

Dorothy: .....

.....

Situation 5: Jessica Jackson, a student, bumps into her personal tutor, Jay Simpson, on a bus. She has not seen him for some time. After a brief greeting, Jessica notices that her tutor has a new hair style. She feels that the new hair style has greatly enhanced his appearance, and would like to let him know this. What kind of interchange do you think would take place? (2: 1.2)

Jessica: .....

.....

Jay: .....

.....

Situation 6: Susan Invermore is an office clerk. All her friends and colleagues find great pleasure in her company because of her wonderful sense of humour, her laughter and her animating smile. Her close friend Lisa Gallagher visits her one Saturday. Susan amuses Lisa by telling her many jokes and amusing stories of the people that she met on her recent holiday. They end up laughing together. Lisa enjoys Susan's company so much that she feels like complimenting her on having such a jolly personality. What type of situation do you think would ensue? (10: 4.1)

Lisa: .....

.....

Susan:.....

.....

Situation 7: Ronald Duchovny works as a typist in an organisation. He recently returned from holiday overseas with a very unique and distinctive watch as a souvenir. On seeing him wearing his new watch in his workplace, Betty Fitzgerald, his colleague, expresses her liking of it. What kind of conversation do you think would have taken place? (7: 3.1)

Betty: .....

.....

Ronald: .....

.....

Situation 8: Dorothy Crawford, an interior designer, has proposed a colour scheme for an important client. Alice Davison, the office junior, notices the proposal on Dorothy's table whilst delivering tea. Alice has heard of the extreme effort which Dorothy has put into preparing the project, and finds the work to be of exceptionally high quality herself. She expresses her admiration and appreciation to Dorothy. What do you think both speakers would say to each other in this conversation? (5: 2.2)

Alice: .....

.....

Dorothy: .....

.....

Situation 9: Robert Hewitt, the chief executive of a company, recently returned from holiday overseas with a very unique and distinctive watch as a souvenir. Lady Pamela Giles-Brown, the company President, asks him whether he enjoyed his break. She notices the new watch and expresses her liking of it. What conversation do you feel would take place? (9: 3.3)

Pamela: .....

.....

Robert: .....

.....

Situation 10: Howard Douglas works as the branch manager of a building society. His colleagues enjoy his company greatly because of his tremendous sense of humour, his laughter and his constant smile. Mike Berry, a recently recruited junior clerk, comes into Howard's office to obtain a signature. It is a quiet afternoon as far as business is concerned. They have a casual chat. He tells Mike some funny stories about the holiday and the interesting people whom he met. Mike is so impressed by his boss's cordial treatment that he feels he would like to compliment him on his friendly and cheerful characteristics. What do you think they would say to one another in this scenario? (11: 4.2)

Mike: .....

.....

Howard: .....

.....

Situation 11: In a corridor at work, Joe Carling, a bank manager, bumps into Joy Inglis, one of his junior employees with whom he is on very good terms socially. After a brief exchange of greeting, Joe realises that Joy has a new hair style. Joe feels that this has greatly enhanced her appearance and wishes to express his view to her. What do you think both speakers in this situation would say to one another? (3: 1.3)

Joe: .....

.....

Joy: .....

.....

Situation 12: Dorothy Crawford, an interior designer, has proposed a colour scheme for an important client. Before presenting it to the client, she asks Jim Lloyd, her boss, for his opinion. Jim finds the work to be of high quality. It also appeals to his personal taste. He expresses his appreciation and admiration of her achievement to her. What do you think each would say to each other in this scenario? (6: 2.3)

Jim: .....

.....

Dorothy: .....

.....

Your comments and suggestions (continue overleaf if you need more space):.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Your cooperation in this material is much appreciated.

Discourse Construction Questionnaire (B)

I would be very thankful for your help with my research. This questionnaire involves dialogue situations between two individuals, which you are asked to consider and respond to. Please read the following guidance notes carefully before you attempt to complete this questionnaire.

Guidance Notes

1. Imagine that you are speaking for both individuals in each turn. Write in the space provided at the end of each situation the dialogue(s) that you consider would be ***most natural*** and ***most appropriate*** to the context and social standing of each speaker. An example of a conversation that could follow is:

(Example) After a class, Steven walks to the vending machine to buy a cup of tea. Realising that he has no change in his pocket, he turns to Frederick his classmate, who is standing next to him. Steven needs some change. What type of conversation do you think would take place?

Steven: *Could I borrow 50p for a cup of tea, Fred? I'm right out of change.*

Frederick: *Hang on, I'll check... Ah! There you go.*

2. ***Please complete all dialogue situations in this questionnaire.*** However, if you have any difficulties with the questionnaire, which lead you not to answer any of the dialogue situations, or if you feel that it would not be appropriate to respond, please give a reason for your decision in each case. In circumstances where you feel non-verbal communication (i.e. smiling, nodding) would take place, please also state this in your answer.

3. If you feel that there are any inadequacies within the descriptions of the dialogue situations and you would like to make a comment, a space has been provided on the last page for this purpose. (N.B. The questionnaire may strike you as repetitive in places, but this is necessary for the research design.)

Your Personal Details (Please tick or respond as appropriate)

- Age: ☐ 15-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61+ (years)
- Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
- Your nationality: .....
- Your mother tongue(s): .....
- Other languages that you can speak: .....
- Your present occupation: .....
- Your father's occupation: .....
- Your mother's occupation: .....
- The city/town (and country, if not the UK) where you were brought up:

.....

- The type of secondary and further educational establishments that you attended (i.e. several boxes may apply): ☐ state school ☐ boarding school ☐ public school ☐ college ☐ university
- Your marital status: ☐ single ☐ married ☐ divorced ☐ other (please specify: .....)
- The newspaper(s) that you read most often is(are): .....

Dialogue Situations

Situation 1: Peter Braxton is a Senior Pilot and Carol Moore is a cabin attendant, operating on the same airline flight. Carol witnesses some passengers having a fight along the aisle. She makes her way to the cockpit to report the incident to Peter. After a brief greeting, Carol informs him of what has happened. Peter does not understand clearly what Carol is saying as she is speaking too quickly. He feels he should interrupt Carol because he wants the events to be retold to him. What do you think Peter and Carol would say in this conversation? (6: 2.3)

Peter: .....

.....

Carol: .....

.....

Situation 2: Gloria Clapping is the President of an organisation where Denis Livingstone is the general manager. Denis organises an informal party at his house, and invites all staff in the organisation to come along with a small gift for present-swapping. Gloria, the President, turns up at the party. After greeting Denis, Gloria realises that she has forgotten to buy her gift. She feels upset about her predicament. What do you think Gloria would say to Denis and how would Denis respond in this situation? (18: 6.3)

Gloria: .....

.....

Denis: .....

.....

Situation 3: Thomas Littlewood is a little late for Sunday morning service at a parish church which he attends each week. He quickens his pace as he approaches the church entrance and bumps into the Reverend Geoffrey Grosvenor, as he emerges from the doorway. The pamphlets which the Reverend Geoffrey has been distributing are knocked off to the ground. What kind of interchange do you think would take place? (2: 1.2)

Thomas: .....

.....

Geoffrey: .....

.....

Situation 4: Charles Nicolson is the duty manager of a publishing company. The Chairman, Victor Anderson, has arranged for Charles to see him in his office one afternoon to discuss his performance and progress. The Chairman asks Charles if he would like to have a seat. As he goes to sit down, Charles steps on something. Looking down, he recognises that they are the Chairman's spectacles. The glasses are shattered. Describe the conversation which you feel would follow. (11: 4.2)

Charles: .....

.....

Victor: .....

.....

Situation 5: Barbara Keating works as a bank cashier. Edward O'Brian, a long-standing customer held in high regard, organises an informal party at his house, and invites all the bank staff to come along with a small gift for

present-swapping. Barbara turns up at the party. After greeting Edward, Barbara realises that she has forgotten to buy her gift. She feels upset about her predicament. What do you think each speaker would say in this situation? (17: 6.2)

Barbara: .....

.....

Edward: .....

.....

Situation 6: Adam Earley and Anthony Witts work as employees of a company. At a staff meeting, Anthony is giving a report about the annual deficit of their company in front of a group of his colleagues. At one point, Anthony is speaking so speedily that Adam, sitting in the audience, finds it hard to keep up. Adam decides to interrupt to ask Anthony to repeat what he has just said. What do you think Adam and Anthony would say to each other in this interchange? (4: 2.1)

Adam: .....

.....

Anthony: .....

.....

Situation 7: Julia Lebra is having lunch with Henry Newport, her workmate. After finishing the meal, she burps uncontrollably. What do you think their conversation would be? (13: 5.1)

Julia: .....

.....

Henry: .....

.....

Situation 8: Andrew Markham and Louise Goldberg work as secretaries in the same company. They regularly go to the refectory together for lunch. At lunch break one day, they work their way through a busy crowd of employees on their way to the canteen. Louise is pushed sharply by the weight of the crowd against Andrew. Andrew stumbles slightly as a result and drops his files. What do you think each has to say in this scenario? (1: 1.1)

Louise: .....

.....

Andrew: .....

.....

Situation 9: Vanessa Jordan has just been recruited by a travel agency to work in the sales department. She is serving Deborah Humphries, a regular client of the company, who is planning a holiday to the US West Coast. Deborah speedily names all the cities she plans to visit to Vanessa. Being relatively unfamiliar with these names, Vanessa interrupts Deborah because she wants the names of these cities to be repeated. What do you think both speakers would say in this situation? (5: 2.2)

Vanessa: .....

.....

Deborah: .....

.....

Situation 10: Penelope Hudson and Michael Irvine are classmates at the same university. Penelope has been absent from class for two weeks, and wants to borrow some lecture notes from Michael. They agree to meet at the library's reception area one day. Penelope arrives 20 minutes late because the bus service that she normally uses has been suspended. She feels guilty. What do you think each has to say when they meet each other? (7: 3.1)

Penelope: .....

.....

Michael: .....

.....

Situation 11: Angela Noble is a cleaner in a school refectory where Susana Fowles is the duty instructor. They run into each other one day in the car park. After exchanging a friendly greeting, Susana burps uncontrollably because she has just finished her lunch. What do you think their interchange would be like? (15: 5.3)

Susana: .....

.....

Angela: .....

.....

Situation 12: Shirley Hilton and Patricia Kenrick are flatmates. Before making their way to work one morning, Shirley accidentally places her briefcase on Patricia's spectacles. The glasses are shattered. What kind of conversation do you think would ensue? (10: 4.1)

Shirley: .....

.....

Patricia: .....

.....

Situation 13: Denise Preston teaches English at a grammar school. During a class, she realises that she has forgotten to bring with her some handouts along for her students. She rushes back to her office, but bumps into Daniel Lee, one of her students from another class, on the corner. Daniel stumbles slightly as a result and drops his books. What do you think they would say in this scenario? (3: 1.3)

Denise: .....

.....

Daniel: .....

.....

Situation 14: James Reddaway is a famous professional golfer. After an evening round on the course, he prepares to leave the Club Houe. At the bar, he has a casual conversation with Melanie Davis, a caddie who has assisted him on a regular basis. Melanie tells him that she lost her spectacles a few moments ago. James steps on something. Melanie looks aghast as James pulls up his foot. James realises that he has broken Melanie's glasses. Describe the interchange which you think would take place. (12: 4.3)

James: .....

.....

Melanie: .....

.....

Situation 15: Norman Evans is the senior laboratory supervisor of a workshop where Emma Smith carries out biological research. Norman is in charge of the keys to the laboratory, but arrives 20 minutes late for work because he was stuck in traffic. Norman realises that Emma has been waiting for him on his arrival. What do you think they would say to each other when they meet? (9: 3.3)

Norman: .....

.....

Emma: .....

.....

Situation 16: Philip Hammerton is the Sergeant Major at an army base. At lunch break, he meets General Tony Sinclair in a corridor. The General greets Philip. Before being able to think about what to say, Philip burps uncontrollably in front of Tony. Describe the conversation which you think would take place. (14: 5.2)

Philip: .....

.....

Tony: .....

.....

Situation 17: Nelson Phillips and Michael Overfield are lecturers at the same college. Nelson organises an informal party at his house, and invites all department staff to come along with a small gift for present-swapping. After greeting Nelson, Michael realises that he has forgotten to buy his gift. Michael feels upset about his predicament. What do you think Michael would say to Nelson and how would Nelson respond? (16: 6.1)

Michael: .....

.....

Nelson: .....

.....

Situation 18: Patrick Mitchell has recently been promoted by the board of his company. Ryan Williams, the Vice President, invites him out for a congratulatory dinner at a restaurant. Patrick arrives late as he was stuck in traffic. Ryan has been waiting for him in the reception area for over 20 minutes. What kind of interchange do you think would take place when both speakers meet? (8: 3.2)

Patrick: .....

.....

Ryan: .....

.....

Your comments and suggestions (continue overleaf if you need more space):.....

.....

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.....

.....

Your cooperation in this material is much appreciated.

Discourse Construction Questionnaire (C)

I would be very thankful for your help with my research. This questionnaire involves dialogue situations between two individuals, which you are asked to consider and respond to. Please read the following guidance notes carefully before you attempt to complete this questionnaire.

Guidance Notes

1. Imagine that you are speaking for both individuals in each turn. Write in the space provided at the end of each situation the dialogue(s) that you consider would be ***most natural*** and ***most appropriate*** to the context and social standing of each speaker. An example of a conversation that could follow is:

(Example) After a class, Steven walks to the vending machine to buy a cup of tea. Realising that he has no change in his pocket, he turns to Frederick his classmate, who is standing next to him. Steven needs some change. What type of conversation do you think would take place?

Steven: *Could I borrow 50p for a cup of tea, Fred? I'm right out of change.*

Frederick: *Hang on, I'll check... Ah! There you go.*

2. ***Please complete all dialogue situations in this questionnaire.*** However, if you have any difficulties with the questionnaire, which lead you not to answer any of the dialogue situations, or if you feel that it would not be appropriate to respond, please give a reason for your decision in each case. In circumstances where you feel non-verbal communication (i.e. smiling, nodding) would take place, please also state this in your answer.

3. If you feel that there are any inadequacies within the descriptions of the dialogue situations and you would like to make a comment, a space has been provided on the last page for this purpose. (N.B. The questionnaire may strike you as repetitive in places, but this is necessary for the research design.)

Your Personal Details (Please tick or respond as appropriate)

- Age: ☐ 15-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61+ (years)
- Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
- Your nationality: .....
- Your mother tongue(s): .....
- Other languages that you can speak: .....
- Your present occupation: .....
- Your father's occupation: .....
- Your mother's occupation: .....
- The city/town (and country, if not the UK) where you were brought up:

.....

- The type of secondary and further educational establishments that you attended (i.e. several boxes may apply): ☐ state school ☐ boarding school ☐ public school ☐ college ☐ university
- Your marital status: ☐ single ☐ married ☐ divorced ☐ other (please specify: .....)
- The newspaper(s) that you read most often is(are): .....

Dialogue Situations

Situation 1: Claudia Payne has recently been recruited to the post of office clerk. During a casual conversation with her new manager, Stuart Roberts, Claudia explains to him that she just moved to the area, and that she would like to get to know more people. He invites Claudia for dinner with his family the following evening after work. Claudia accepts the invitation. She very much appreciates her manager's kindness. What type of conversation do you think would ensue? (5: 2.2)

Claudia: .....

.....

Stuart: .....

.....

Situation 2: Paul Thompson teaches history at a school where Jane Loftus is a student. Paul has been absent from class for one week because of a terrible cold. On the day of his return, Jane tells Paul how her classmates have missed him, and that she has been concerned about his illness. Paul feels appreciative of this. What kind of interchange do you think would take place? (15: 5.3)

Paul: .....

.....

Jane: .....

.....

Situation 3: Michelle Jefferson is an International Officer at a university. She has been appointed by the Board to distribute the programme of a forthcoming conference. She places a notice on her office door advertising the times when those interested in attending can come to pick up a copy. Diana Sandringham, the Department's clerk, turns up one afternoon in Michelle's office. After a brief greeting, Michelle hands the programme to Diana. Diana feels thankful. What type of conversation do you think would follow? (11: 4.2)

Diana: .....

.....

Michelle: .....

.....

Situation 4: Irene Keeley and Alison Adler are classmates. After a lecture session, all the students in the class make their way out of the auditorium. Irene holds the door open for Alison to walk through behind her. Alison feels appreciative of this. What do you think both speakers have to say to each other in this interchange? (1: 1.1)

Alison: .....

.....

Irene: .....

.....

Situation 5: George Hitchcock and Hugh Simmonds are employees in the same organisation. George has recently returned from a long holiday in France. Hugh calls on George's office one morning. George brings out a miniature model of the Eiffel Tower from his drawer. George gives the present to Hugh. Hugh feels grateful. What kind of conversation do you think would ensue? (7: 3.1)

Hugh: .....

.....

George: .....

.....

Situation 6: Caroline Turner has been absent from class for one week with a terrible cold. On the day of her return, Emmanuel McCormick, her classmate, tells Caroline how her classmates have missed her, and that she has been concerned about Caroline's illness. Caroline feels appreciative of the attention given to her. What type of conversation do you think would take place? (13: 5.1)

Caroline: .....

.....

Emmanuel: .....

.....

Situation 7: Victoria Reeves works in the Welfare Office at the Ministry of Education. She attends a brief meeting, presided over by Jonathan West, the Minister of Education. At tea break, Victoria and other attendants make their way out of the seminar room to get their drinks. She happens to be walking behind Jonathan. He holds the door open for her. Victoria feels appreciative. What type of conversation do you think would take place? (2: 1.2)

Victoria: .....

.....

Jonathan: .....

.....

Situation 8: Ian Ramsden is an International Officer of a large organisation. He has been appointed by the Committee to distribute the programme of a forthcoming conference. He places a notice on his office door advertising the times when those interested in attending can come to pick up a copy. Roger Carter, the Vice President, calls in at Ian's office one day. After a casual greeting, Ian gives Roger the programme. Roger feels thankful. What do you think both speakers would say in this interchange? (12: 4.3)

Roger: .....

.....

Ian: .....

.....

Situation 9: Eva Campbell works as a clerk to Kenneth Ricordale, the Registrar of a college. Eva has been on leave in France for 3 weeks. She calls on Kenneth one morning in his office. She brings with her a miniature model of the Eiffel Tower. After a brief greeting, she gives the present to Kenneth. What kind of conversation do you think would ensue? (9: 3.3)

Kenneth: .....

.....

Eva: .....

.....

Situation 10: Edward Foley is a long-term tenant in a council estate. Charles Taylor recently moved into the adjacent flat. They have become casual friends and good neighbours. They meet at a local pub one day. Charles explains to Edward that he feels very bored in the evenings, and would like to get to know more people. Edward invites him to visit his family the following weekend. Charles accepts the invitation. Charles is appreciative of Edward's kindness. What kind of conversation do you think would ensue? (4: 2.1)

Charles: .....

.....

Edward: .....

.....

Situation 11: Simon Murray is studying for a degree at university. Walton Sunley is his personal tutor. Simon has been absent from class for one week because of a terrible cold. He meets Walton in his office on his return to discuss the progress of his study. Walton tells him that the lecturers have missed him, and that he has been concerned about Simon's illness. Simon feels so appreciative of the attention given to him. What do you think both speakers would say to each other in this interchange? (14: 5.2)

Simon: .....

.....

Walton: .....

.....

Situation 12: Arnold Jones is a judge at the High Court where Christopher Bailey works as his personal secretary. They make their way to the courtroom. Christopher walks past the entrance and holds the door open for Arnold. Arnold feels appreciative. What do you think both speakers have to say in this situation? (3: 1.3)

Arnold: .....

.....

Christopher: .....

.....

Situation 13: Virginia Sutherland works as a secretary in a company where Russell Black has just been appointed as the new chief executive. Virginia calls on him in his office to obtain a signature. During a casual conversation, Russell tells her that he feels very bored during the evenings, and would like to get to know more people. Virginia offers to take him to see her family for dinner the following weekend. Russell accepts the invitation. He appreciates his secretary's kindness. What do you think each speaker would say in this scenario? (6: 2.3)

Russell: .....

.....

Virginia: .....

.....

Situation 14: Josephine Bolton studies Performing Arts at a college where Karen Bateson is one of her dance instructors. Karen has just returned from a long holiday in France. Josephine calls on at Karen's office one

afternoon. Karen brings out a miniature model of the Eiffel Tower from her drawer. Karen gives the present to Josephine. What do you think each has to say in this scenario? (8: 3.2)

Josephine: .....

.....

Karen: .....

.....

Situation 15: Gabrielle Ostend works as an International Officer with British Telecom. She has been appointed by the Board to distribute the programme of a forthcoming conference. She places a notice on her office door advertising the times when those interested in attending can come to pick up a copy. Bryan Foll, her colleague in the same Department, calls in one morning to pick up the programme. After a casual greeting, she hands the programme to him. Bryan feels thankful. What type of situation do you think would ensue? (10: 4.1)

Bryan: .....

.....

Gabrielle: .....

.....

Your comments and suggestions (continue overleaf if you need more space):.....

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Your cooperation in this material is much appreciated.

แบบสอบถามการใช้ภาษาในบทสนทนา (ก)

ขอขอบพระคุณที่ให้ความร่วมมือในงานวิจัยครั้งนี้ แบบสอบถามนี้ประกอบไปด้วยรายละเอียดของบทสนทนาระหว่างบุคคล ๒ คน ซึ่งผู้วิจัยใคร่ขอให้ท่านพิจารณาและตอบคำถามตามสมควร กรุณาอ่านคำชี้แจงข้างล่างนี้ให้ถี่ถ้วน ก่อนที่ท่านจะลงมือเขียนคำตอบใดๆ ลงไป

คำชี้แจง

๑. ให้สมมุติว่าท่านเป็นผู้พูดทั้งสองคนในบทสนทนาแต่ละข้อ จากนั้นให้เขียนคำสนทนาอะไรก็ได้ที่ท่านเห็นว่า**<u>ฟังแล้วเป็นธรรมชาติที่สุดและเหมาะสมที่สุด</u>** โดยพิจารณาจากสถานการณ์และความสัมพันธ์ของผู้พูดทั้งสอง ตามที่ได้กำหนดไว้ ตัวอย่างเช่น

(ตัวอย่าง) วิทยาเดินตรงไปยังเครื่องขายน้ำอัตโนมัติเพื่อซื้อน้ำอัดลมกระป๋องหลังจากเรียนจบวิชาหนึ่ง แต่นึกขึ้นได้ว่าตนมีเหรียญไม่พอ เผอิญวิทยาเห็นไปพบกับสุรศักดิ์ เพื่อนร่วมชั้นที่สนิทคนหนึ่ง ท่านคิดว่าวิทยาจะพูดว่าอย่างไร ถ้าเขาต้องการจะยืมเงินจากสุรศักดิ์ และสุรศักดิ์จะตอบว่าอย่างไร (ท่านอาจเลือกตอบดังตัวอย่างในวงเล็บข้างล่างนี้ก็ได้ ซึ่งก็ฟังดูเป็นธรรมชาติ)

<u>วิทยา: เฮ้ย! ศักดิ์ ขอยืมเหรียญ ๑๐ เหรียญนึงดิ พอดีไม่มีเหรียญติดตัวเลยว่ะ</u>

<u>สุรศักดิ์: เดี๋ยวดูก่อนนะ อ้ะ! นี่ไง</u>

๒. **<u>กรุณาตอบคำถามทุกข้อในแบบสอบถามนี้</u>** อย่างไรก็ตาม ถ้าท่านเห็นว่าไม่สามารถตอบคำถามบางข้อได้ (ไม่ว่าจะด้วยเหตุผลใดๆ) ขอให้ท่านอธิบายอย่างเพียงพอด้วยว่าทำไมจึงคิดเช่นนั้น ในขณะเดียวกัน ท่านอาจจะระบุการแสดงออกอื่นๆ (เช่น ยกมือไหว้ ยิ้ม หรือพยักหน้า) ลงไปในคำตอบด้วยตามสมควร

๓. ท่านสามารถเขียนความคิดเห็นอื่นๆ เกี่ยวกับปัญหาที่พบในแบบสอบถามนี้ได้ในที่ว่างของหน้าสุดท้าย ไม่ว่าจะเป็นความไม่เหมาะสมของสถานการณ์ ตลอดจนข้อบกพร่องอื่นๆ (ท่านอาจพบว่ามีสถานการณ์ที่ดูซ้ำๆ กันอยู่บางข้อ ทั้งนี้เนื่องจากความจำเป็นของลักษณะการตั้งคำถามที่ผู้วิจัยเลือกใช้)

ข้อมูลจำเพาะของท่าน (กรุณาใส่เครื่องหมาย ✓ หรือกรอกข้อความลงในช่องว่าง)

- อายุ: ☐ ๑๕-๒๐ ☐ ๒๑-๓๐ ☐ ๓๑-๔๐ ☐ ๔๑-๕๐ ☐ ๕๑-๖๐ ☐ ๖๑+ (ปี)
- เพศ: ☐ ชาย ☐ หญิง
- สัญชาติ: .....
- ภาษาแม่: .....
- ภาษาอื่นๆ ที่ท่านพูดได้: .....
- อาชีพปัจจุบัน: .....
- อาชีพของบิดา: ..... อาชีพของมารดา: .....
- จังหวัดที่ท่านถูกเลี้ยงดู (กรอกชื่อเมืองและประเทศ ถ้าไม่ใช่ในประเทศไทย): .....
- ระดับการศึกษา (เลือกกี่ข้อก็ได้): ☐ ประถมศึกษา ☐ มัธยมศึกษา ☐ วิทยาลัยสายอาชีพ ☐ อุดมศึกษา
- สถานภาพ: ☐ โสด ☐ สมรส ☐ หย่า ☐ อื่นๆ (โปรดระบุ: .....)
- หนังสือพิมพ์และนิตยสารที่ท่านชอบอ่าน: .....

สถานการณ์ในบทสนทนา

<u>สถานการณ์ ๑</u> ประสงค์ งามแสง มีตำแหน่งเป็นผู้จัดการบริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง ประสงค์เพิ่งเดินทางกลับมาจากต่างประเทศ เขาซื้อนาฬิกาข้อมือเรือนหนึ่งซึ่งดูเตะตาและสวยงามมากกลับมาด้วย กฤษฎา ดีตระกูล ทำหน้าที่เป็นพนักงานส่งเอกสารในบริษัท เขาเหลือบเห็นนาฬิกาเรือนใหม่ที่ประสงค์ใส่อยู่ขณะที่เอาพัสดุมาส่งที่ห้องทำงานของประสงค์ กฤษฎาประทับใจในนาฬิกาเรือนนี้มาก และอยากจะบอกให้ประสงค์ทราบ ท่านคิดว่ากฤษฎาจะพูดว่าอย่างไร และประสงค์จะตอบว่าอย่างไร (๘: ๓.๒)

กฤษฎา: .....

.....

ประสงค์: .....

.....

<u>สถานการณ์ ๒</u> ขวัญภิรมย์ แสงอำไพกุล เพิ่งเปลี่ยนทรงผมใหม่ ชุติมา ปิติสุวรรณ เพื่อนร่วมงานของเธอสังเกตเห็นว่าทรงผมทรงใหม่นี้ทำให้ขวัญภิรมย์สวยผิดตาขึ้นมาก จึงอยากจะบอกให้ขวัญภิรมย์ทราบ ท่านคิดว่าชุติมาจะเลือกใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไร และขวัญภิรมย์จะตอบว่าอย่างไร (๑: ๑.๑)

ชุติมา: .....

.....

ขวัญภิรมย์: .....

.....

<u>สถานการณ์ ๓</u> ระวิวรรณ ขำเลิศ เป็นอาจารย์อยู่ที่โรงเรียนแห่งหนึ่ง ทุกคนที่โรงเรียน ไม่ว่าจะเป็นนักเรียนหรืออาจารย์คนอื่นๆต่างชอบระวิวรรณเป็นอันมาก เพราะเธอเป็นคนมีอารมณ์ขันและอัธยาศัยดีเป็นเลิศ วันหนึ่ง ระวิวรรณมีโอกาสได้คุยกับ ประหยัด พรหมตรัย อาจารย์ใหญ่ของโรงเรียนดังกล่าว ระวิวรรณเล่าเรื่องน่าขบขันต่างๆ ที่เธอไปพบมาระหว่างหยุดพักร้อนให้ประหยัดฟัง ทั้งสองต่างหัวเราะกันอย่างสนุกสนาน ประหยัดรู้สึกครื้นเครงมากที่ได้คุยกับระวิวรรณ จึงอยากจะชมเชยเธอที่มีบุคลิกและลักษณะนิสัยที่ร่าเริงเช่นนี้ ท่านคิดว่าประหยัดและระวิวรรณจะพูดว่าอย่างไร (๑๒: ๔.๓)

ประหยัด: .....

.....

ระวิวรรณ: .....

.....

<u>สถานการณ์ ๔</u> เจนจิรา มินทร์ลาภ มีอาชีพเป็นมัณฑนากร เธอได้ออกแบบการตกแต่งสีภายในอาคารให้กับลูกค้ารายใหญ่รายหนึ่ง ธนชัย ศิรินนท์ เพื่อนร่วมงานในบริษัทเดียวกัน เห็นว่าเจนจิราได้ทุ่มเทแรงกายและแรงใจให้กับงานชิ้นนี้อย่างไม่ย่อท้อ ธนชัยรู้สึกชื่นชมในความคิดในการออกแบบสีของเจนจิรา และเห็นว่าสีต่างๆ ที่เธอใช้นั้นเป็นสีที่ตนชอบเป็นการส่วนตัวด้วย ธนชัยต้องการจะบอกให้เจนจิราทราบถึงความประทับใจของตนในงานดังกล่าวระหว่างรับประทานอาหารกลางวันกับเธอท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์นี้ (๔: ๒.๑)

ธนชัย: .....

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เจนจิรา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๕</u> สมปรารถนา สมบูรณ์สุข ขึ้นรถเมล์คันเดียวกับ อาทิตย์ พันธุชาติ อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาของเธอ หลังจากที่เธอทักทายและสวัสดีอาทิตย์ เธอสังเกตเห็นว่าอาทิตย์ได้เปลี่ยนทรงผมทรงใหม่ ซึ่งเธอคิดว่าทำให้อาทิตย์หล่อขึ้นกว่าปกติมาก สมปรารถนาอยากจะบอกความคิดเห็นของตนให้อาทิตย์ทราบ ท่านคิดว่าเธอจะใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไร และอาทิตย์จะตอบว่าอย่างไร (๒: ๑.๒)

สมปรารถนา: .....

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อาทิตย์: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๖</u> เนศนที อาสดานุเคราะห์ ทำงานเป็นเสมียนอยู่ที่บริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง ทุกคนไม่ว่าจะเป็นเพื่อนสนิทหรือเพื่อนร่วมงาน ต่างชอบพอเธอเป็นอย่างมาก เพราะเธอเป็นคนมีอารมณ์ขัน ชอบหัวเราะและชี้มง่าย เรวดี ภูชาติ เพื่อนสนิทคนหนึ่ง แวะมาเยี่ยมเนศนทีที่บ้านตอนบ่ายวันเสาร์ เนศนทีเล่าเรื่องน่าขบขันต่างๆ ที่เธอไปพบมาระหว่างหยุดพักร้อนให้เรวดีฟัง ทั้งสองหัวเราะอย่างสนุกสนาน เรวดีรู้สึกครื้นเครงมากที่ได้มาเยี่ยมเนศนทีครั้งนี้ เธออยากจะบอกให้เนศนทีทราบว่าเธอประทับใจในบุคลิกและลักษณะนิสัยที่ร่าเริงดังกล่าวเป็นอันมาก ท่านคิดว่าทั้งคู่จะพูดโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๑๐: ๔.๑)

เรวดี: .....

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เนศนที: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๗</u> สมยศ สมุทรศาสตร์ ทำงานเป็นพนักงานพิมพ์ดีดที่บริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง เขาเพิ่งเดินทางกลับมาจากต่างประเทศ และได้ซื้อนาฬิกาข้อมือเรือนหนึ่งซึ่งดูเตะตาและสวยงามมากกลับมาด้วย พัชรี ศิริเดช เป็นพนักงานพิมพ์ดีดอีกคนหนึ่ง เธอสังเกตเห็นนาฬิกาเรือนใหม่นี้ขณะที่คุยอยู่กับสมยศ พัชรีอยากจะบอกให้สมยศทราบว่าเธอประทับใจกับมันมาก ท่านคิดว่าทั้งคู่จะใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไร (๗: ๓.๑)

พัชรี: .....

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สมยศ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๘</u> เจนจิรา มินทร์ลาภ มีอาชีพเป็นมัณฑนากรที่บริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง เธอได้ออกแบบการตกแต่งสีภายในอาคารให้กับลูกค้ารายใหญ่รายหนึ่ง วรรณี ศรีสงคราม ทำงานเป็นพนักงานเสิร์ฟและทำความสะอาด วรรณียกน้ำชาเข้ามาเสิร์ฟให้เจนจิราที่ห้องทำงาน และได้เหลือบเห็นตัวอย่างงานที่เจนจิราทำไว้ วรรณีได้ชื่นมาว่าเจนจิราได้ทุ่มเทแรงกายและแรงใจให้กับให้กับงานชิ้นนี้มาก วรรณีคิดว่าการออกแบบดังกล่าวมีคุณภาพดีมาก นอกจากนั้น เธอยังเห็นว่าสีต่างๆ ที่เจนจิราเลือกก็เป็นสีที่เธอชอบเป็นการส่วนตัวด้วย วรรณีต้องการจะบอกให้เจนจิราทราบถึงความประทับใจของตน ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองฝ่ายจะใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไร (๕: ๒.๒)

วรรณี: .....

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เจนจิรา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๙</u> จีรยุทธ โสภากุล มีตำแหน่งเป็นผู้จัดการบริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง เขาเพิ่งเดินทางกลับมาจากต่างประเทศ และได้ซื้อนาฬิกาข้อมือเรือนหนึ่งซึ่งดูเตะตาและสวยงามมากกลับมาด้วย คุณหญิงพรสุดา ศรีอากูล ณ อยุธยา เป็นประธานบริษัท เธอสังเกตเห็นนาฬิกาเรือนนี้ขณะที่คุยอยู่กับจีรยุทธ คุณหญิงพรสุดาประทับใจในนาฬิกาเรือนนี้มาก และอยากจะบอกให้จีรยุทธทราบ ท่านคิดว่าผู้พูดทั้งสองจะโต้ตอบว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๙: ๓.๓)

คุณหญิงพรสุดา: .....

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จีรยุทธ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๐</u> สุทธิเกียรติ วิเศษสุวรรณ มีตำแหน่งเป็นผู้จัดการธนาคารสาขาหนึ่ง ทุกคนต่างชอบพอสุทธิเกียรติเป็นอันมาก เพราะเขาเป็นคนมีอารมณ์ขันและอัธยาศัยดีเป็นเลิศ สมหมาย บุญเต็ม เป็นพนักงานพิมพ์เอกสารซึ่งเพิ่งเริ่มเข้ามาทำงานได้ไม่นาน ในบ่ายวันหนึ่ง สมหมายนำเอกสารเข้ามาให้สุทธิเกียรติเซ็น วันนั้นไม่ค่อยมีลูกค้า สุทธิเกียรติจึงคุยเรื่องสัพเพเหระและเรื่องตลกขบขันต่างๆ ที่ตนไปพบมาระหว่างหยุดพักร้อนให้สมหมายฟังอย่างเป็นกันเอง ทั้งสองหัวเราะสนุกสนาน สมหมายรู้สึกประทับใจที่มีผู้จัดการที่ดีเช่นนี้ เขาอยากจะบอกให้สุทธิเกียรติทราบว่าเขารู้สึกประทับใจในบุคลิกและลักษณะนิสัยที่ร่าเริงดังกล่าวเป็นอันมาก ท่านคิดว่าทั้งคู่จะพูดโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๑๑: ๔.๒)

สมหมาย: .....

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สุทธิเกียรติ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๑</u> นิรุจน์ เทพประดิษฐ์ เป็นผู้จัดการธนาคารแห่งหนึ่ง เขาบังเอิญเดินสวนกับวิกานดา หิรัญเวช พนักงานบัญชี ที่ทางเดินช่วงหนึ่งของตึก หลังจากหยุดคุยและทักทายกันได้ไม่นาน นิรุจน์ก็ได้สังเกตเห็นว่าวิกานดาเพิ่งไปทำผมทรงใหม่มา เขาคิดว่าทรงผมทรงใหม่นี้ทำให้วิกานดาดูสวยขึ้นกว่าเดิมอย่างผิดตา นิรุจน์อยากจะบอกความคิดเห็นดังกล่าวให้วิกานดาทราบ ท่านคิดว่า

ทั้งคู่จะพูดโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๓: ๑.๓)

นิรุจน์: .....

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วิกานดา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๒</u> เจนจิรา มินทร์ลาภ มีอาชีพเป็นมัณฑนากร เธอออกแบบการตกแต่งสีภายในอาคารให้กับลูกค้ารายใหญ่รายหนึ่ง วันหนึ่ง เจนจิรานำตัวอย่างงานออกแบบชิ้นนี้ไปให้ ศิวเทพ รัตนวิภากุล ซึ่งเป็นหัวหน้าแผนกของเธอดูเพื่อขอความเห็น ศิวเทพคิดว่าการออกแบบดังกล่าวมีคุณภาพดีมาก นอกจากนั้น เขายังเห็นว่าสีต่างๆ ที่เจนจิราเลือกใช้นั้นก็เป็นสีที่เขาชอบเป็นการส่วนตัวด้วย ศิวเทพต้องการจะบอกให้เจนจิราทราบถึงความประทับใจของตนในงานดังกล่าว ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไร (๖: ๒.๓)

ศิวเทพ: .....

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เจนจิรา: .....

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ความคิดเห็นและข้อเสนอแนะ: .....

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ขอขอบพระคุณในความร่วมมือ

แบบสอบถามการใช้ภาษาในบทสนทนา (ข)

ขอขอบพระคุณที่ให้ความร่วมมือในงานวิจัยครั้งนี้ แบบสอบถามนี้ประกอบไปด้วยรายละเอียดของบทสนทนาระหว่างบุคคล ๒ คน ซึ่งผู้วิจัยใคร่ขอให้ท่านพิจารณาและตอบคำถามตามสมควร กรุณาอ่านคำชี้แจงข้างล่างนี้ให้ถี่ถ้วน ก่อนที่ท่านจะลงมือเขียนคำตอบใดๆ ลงไป

คำชี้แจง

๑. ให้สมมุติว่าท่านเป็นผู้พูดทั้งสองคนในบทสนทนาแต่ละข้อ จากนั้นให้เขียนคำสนทนาอะไรก็ได้ที่ท่านเห็นว่า**ฟังแล้วเป็นธรรมชาติที่สุดและเหมาะสมที่สุด** โดยพิจารณาจากสถานการณ์และความสัมพันธ์ของผู้พูดทั้งสอง ตามที่ได้กำหนดไว้ ตัวอย่างเช่น

(ตัวอย่าง) วิทยาเดินตรงไปยังเครื่องขายน้ำอัตโนมัติเพื่อซื้อน้ำอัดลมกระป๋องหลังจากเรียนจบวิชาหนึ่ง แต่นึกขึ้นได้ว่าตนมีเหรียญไม่พอ เผอิญวิทยาหันไปพบกับสุรศักดิ์เพื่อนร่วมชั้นที่สนิทคนหนึ่ง ท่านคิดว่าวิทยาจะพูดว่าอย่างไร ถ้าเขาต้องการจะยืมเงินจากสุรศักดิ์ และสุรศักดิ์จะตอบว่าอย่างไร (ท่านอาจเลือกตอบดังตัวอย่างในวงเล็บข้างล่างนี้ก็ได้ ซึ่งก็ฟังดูเป็นธรรมชาติ)

วิทยา: เฮ้ย! ศักดิ์ ขอยืมเหรียญ ๑๐ เหรียญนึงดิ พอดีไม่มีเหรียญติดตัวเลยว่ะ _____

_____

สุรศักดิ์: เดี๋ยวดูก่อนนะ อ้ะ! นี่ไง _____

_____

๒. **กรุณาตอบคำถามทุกข้อในแบบสอบถามนี้** อย่างไรก็ตาม ถ้าท่านเห็นว่าไม่สามารถตอบคำถามบางข้อได้ (ไม่ว่าจะด้วยเหตุผลใดๆ) ขอให้ท่านอธิบายอย่างเพียงพอด้วยว่าทำไมจึงคิดเช่นนั้น ในขณะเดียวกัน ท่านอาจจะระบุการแสดงออกอื่นๆ (เช่น ยกมือไหว้ ยิ้ม หรือพยักหน้า) ลงไปในคำตอบด้วยตามสมควร

๓. ท่านสามารถเขียนความคิดเห็นอื่นๆ เกี่ยวกับปัญหาที่พบในแบบสอบถามนี้ได้ในที่ว่างของหน้าสุดท้าย ไม่ว่าจะเป็นความไม่เหมาะสมของสถานการณ์ ตลอดจนข้อบกพร่องอื่นๆ (ท่านอาจพบว่ามีสถานการณ์ที่คู่ซ้ำๆ กันอยู่บางข้อ ทั้งนี้เนื่องจากความจำเป็นของลักษณะการตั้งคำถามที่ผู้วิจัยเลือกใช้)

ข้อมูลจำเพาะของท่าน (กรุณาใส่เครื่องหมาย ✓ หรือกรอกข้อความลงในช่องว่าง)

- อายุ: ☐ ๑๕-๒๐ ☐ ๒๑-๓๐ ☐ ๓๑-๔๐ ☐ ๔๑-๕๐ ☐ ๕๑-๖๐ ☐ ๖๑+ (ปี)
- เพศ: ☐ ชาย ☐ หญิง
- สัญชาติ: .....
- ภาษาแม่: .....
- ภาษาอื่นๆ ที่ท่านพูดได้: .....
- อาชีพปัจจุบัน: .....
- อาชีพของบิดา: ..... อาชีพของมารดา: .....
- จังหวัดที่ท่านถูกเลี้ยงดู (กรอกชื่อเมืองและประเทศ ถ้าไม่ใช่ในประเทศไทย): .....
- ระดับการศึกษา (เลือกกี่ข้อก็ได้): ☐ ประถมศึกษา ☐ มัธยมศึกษา ☐ วิทยาลัยสายอาชีพ ☐ อุดมศึกษา
- สถานภาพ: ☐ โสด ☐ สมรส ☐ หย่า ☐ อื่นๆ (โปรดระบุ: .....)
- หนังสือพิมพ์และนิตยสารที่ท่านชอบอ่าน: .....

สถานการณ์ในบทสนทนา

<u>สถานการณ์ ๑</u> ปรีชา เจริญผล เป็นหัวหน้านักบินของสายการบินแห่งหนึ่ง รัชนก บังเกิดสกุล ทำหน้าที่เป็นแอร์โฮสเตสในเที่ยวบินเดียวกัน รัชนกเห็นผู้โดยสารกลุ่มหนึ่งกำลังชกต่อยกันอยู่บริเวณทางเดิน เธอรีบตรงไปยังห้องนักบินเพื่อรายงานเหตุการณ์ดังกล่าวให้ปรีชาได้รับทราบ เธอเล่าสิ่งที่เกิดขึ้นทั้งหมดอย่างรวดเร็วจนเกินไปทำให้ปรีชาจับใจความไม่ทัน ปรีชาคิดว่าตนควรจะพูดแทรกเพื่อขอให้รัชนกเล่าเรื่องทั้งหมดอีกครั้งหนึ่ง ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์นี้ (๖: ๒.๓)

ปรีชา: .....

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รัชนก: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๒</u> นนทิยา ธรรมมงคล เป็นประธานบริษัทแห่งหนึ่งซึ่งมี วิทยา สุขุม เป็นผู้จัดการ วิทยาจัดงานเลี้ยงที่บ้านโดยได้เชิญทุกคนที่บริษัทมาร่วมงาน วิทยาได้แจ้งให้ทุกคนเตรียมของขวัญมาคนละ ๑ ชิ้นเพื่อจับฉลาก นนทิยาเดินทางมาถึงงาน หลังจากพูดทักทายกับปรีชาได้ไม่นาน เธอจึงนึกขึ้นได้ว่าเธอลืมซื้อของขวัญติดมือมาด้วย นนทิยารู้สึกไม่ดีเลย เพราะนี่เป็นความผิดของเธอเอง ท่านคิดว่าทั้งนนทิยาและวิทยาจะพูดโต้ตอบกันอย่างไร (๑๘: ๖.๓)

นนทิยา: .....

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วิทยา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๓</u> ประหยัด สินธุเดช ชอบไปทำบุญและฟังพระธรรมเทศนาทุกๆ วันอาทิตย์ที่วัดใกล้บ้าน วันหนึ่ง ประหยัดมาถึงที่วัดช้า เขารีบเดินตรงไปยังพระอุโบสถ และเผอิญเดินชนเจ้าอาวาส หลวงพ่อสุข คุณากโร อย่างจังที่มุมตึกทำให้ใบปลิวที่ท่านเจ้าอาวาสกำลังแจกให้เหล่าญาติโยมอยู่นั้นหล่นกระจัดกระจายลงกับพื้น ท่านคิดว่าหลังจากเหตุการณ์ดังกล่าว ประหยัดและท่านเจ้าอาวาสจะพูดว่าอย่างไร (๒: ๑.๒)

ประหยัด: .....

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หลวงพ่อสุข: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๔</u> ภาคภูมิ ตรีเนตร ทำงานเป็นผู้จัดการฝ่ายวางแผนอยู่ที่สำนักพิมพ์แห่งหนึ่ง ชัยพร วิษณุประกร ประธานบริษัทเรียกให้ภาคภูมิมาพบเพื่อพูดคุยและถามไถ่เรื่องการทำงานโดยทั่วไป ชัยพรเชิญให้ภาคภูมินั่งลงกับเก้าอี้ ขณะที่กำลังจะลงนั่ง ภาคภูมิรู้สึกว่าตนได้เหยียบอะไรบางอย่างเข้าจึงก้มลงดู และพบแว่นตาอันหนึ่งแตกละเอียด เขานึกขึ้นได้ว่ามันคือแว่นตาของชัยพรนั่นเอง ท่านคิดว่าภาคภูมิจะพูดว่าอย่างไร และชัยพรจะตอบว่าอย่างไร (๑๑: ๔.๒)

ภาคภูมิ: .....

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ชัยพร: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๕</u> ขนิษฐา จอมมณี เป็นพนักงานบัญชีอยู่ที่บริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง ไพศาล อินทรประทีป เป็นลูกค้าประจำคนหนึ่งซึ่งทุกคนในธนาคารรู้จักและนับถือเป็นอย่างดี ไพศาลจัดงานเลี้ยงที่บ้านโดยได้เชิญพนักงานทุกคนที่ธนาคารให้มาร่วมงาน ไพศาลได้แจ้งให้ทุกคนเตรียมของขวัญมาคนละ ๑ ชิ้นเพื่อจับฉลาก ขนิษฐาเดินทางมาถึงงาน หลังจากพูดทักทายกับไพศาลได้ไม่นาน เธอจึงนึกขึ้นได้ว่าเธอลืมซื้อของขวัญติดมือมาด้วย ขนิษฐารู้สึกไม่ดีเลย เพราะนี่เป็นความผิดของเธอเอง ท่านคิดว่าทั้งขนิษฐาและไพศาลจะพูดโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๑๗: ๖.๒)

ขนิษฐา: .....

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ไพศาล: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๖</u> วิโรจน์ หิรัญวัฒนา และ เกียรติยศ สุมังคะลัง ทำงานอยู่ที่บริษัทเดียวกัน อยู่มาวันหนึ่ง ทั้งสองได้เข้าร่วมประชุมกับพนักงานคนอื่นๆ เกียรติยศพูดรายงานเรื่องงบดุลย์ประจำปีให้ผู้เข้าประชุมฟัง มีอยู่ตอนหนึ่ง เกียรติยศพูดเร็วมากจนวิโรจน์ฟังไม่ทัน วิโรจน์จึงตัดสินใจพูดแทรกเพื่อขอให้เกียรติยศพูดซ้ำตรงจุดนั้นใหม่อีกครั้ง ท่านคิดว่าทั้งวิโรจน์และเกียรติยศจะพูดโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๔: ๒.๑)

วิโรจน์: .....

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เกียรติยศ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๗</u> รัชนีกร สุพรรณกุล และ สมพล บุรีรมย์ เป็นพนักงานงานขายอยู่ที่ร้านแห่งหนึ่ง รัชนีกรและสมพลไปรับประทานอาหารที่ร้านอาหารในละแวกเดียวกัน ระหว่างเดินกลับไปทำงานรอบบ่าย รัชนีกรได้เรอออกมาอย่างยั้งไม่อยู่ ท่านคิดว่ารัชนีกรและสมพลจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๑๓: ๕.๑)

รัชนีกร: .....

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สมพล: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๘</u> ฉวีวรรณ สุธีระภาพ และ เมธา พิทักษ์ชน ทำงานเป็นพนักงานพิมพ์ดีดอยู่ที่บริษัทเดียวกัน มีอยู่วันหนึ่ง ทั้งสองไปรับประทานอาหารกลางวันที่โรงอาหารพร้อมกัน ขณะที่พวกเขากำลังเดินเบียดผ่านคนกลุ่มใหญ่ตรงทางเดินนั้นเอง ฉวีวรรณก็ได้ชนกับเมธาอย่างจัง ทำให้เมธาเสียหลักและปล่อยแฟ้มที่เขาถืออยู่ตกลงกับพื้น ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๑: ๑.๑)

ฉวีวรรณ: .....

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เมธา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๕</u> อาภาภรณ์ ตันติคุณ เพิ่งเข้ามาทำงานที่บริษัทนำเที่ยวแห่งหนึ่งได้ไม่นาน วันหนึ่ง เธอให้บริการกับ นิตยา ลีลาวานิช ลูกค้าประจำคนหนึ่ง นิตยามีแผนการที่จะไปเที่ยวทางด้านชายฝั่งตะวันตกของสหรัฐอเมริกา นิตยาเอ่ยชื่อเมืองต่างๆที่เธออยากไปรวดเร็วมากจนอาภาภรณ์จับต้นชนปลายไม่ถูก อาภาภรณ์ไม่คุ้นกับชื่อเมืองดังกล่าวเอาเสียเลย อาภาภรณ์ตัดสินใจพูดแทรกเพื่อขอให้นิตยาไล่ชื่อเมืองทั้งหมดให้ตนฟังอีกครั้ง ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๕: ๒.๒)

อาภาภรณ์: .....

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นิตยา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๑</u> วิยะดา เขียวอร่าม เรียนหนังสืออยู่ห้องเดียวกับ สุวิทย์ รักการดี วิยะดาได้ขาดเรียนเป็นเวลา ๒ อาทิตย์ จึงอยากจะขอยืมสมุดจดวิชาเรียนของสุวิทย์ ทั้งสองนัดเจอกันที่ห้องโถงของห้องสมุด แต่วิยะดามาสาย ๒๐ นาที เพราะรถเมล์สายที่เธอใช้ประจำไม่ออกวิ่งให้บริการ เธอรู้สึกผิดที่ปล่อยให้สุวิทย์รอนาน ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๗: ๓.๑)

วิยะดา: .....

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สุวิทย์: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๑</u> สุภาสินี สนนลาภ เป็นพนักงานภูพื้นโรงอาหารที่โรงเรียนแห่งหนึ่ง เธอพบกับประนอม ชื่นสุข ผู้ตรวจควบคุมความเรียบร้อยของโรงอาหารที่บริเวณลานจอดรถโดยบังเอิญ ทั้งสองได้หยุดทักทายและพูดคุยกัน ทันใดนั้นเอง ประนอมก็ได้เรอออกมาอย่างรั้งไม่อยู่ เพราะเพิ่งรับประทานอาหารกลางวันมาใหม่ๆ ท่านคิดว่าประนอมและสุภาสินีจะพูดว่าอย่างไรเมื่อเหตุการณ์ดังกล่าวเกิดขึ้น (๑๕: ๕.๓)

ประนอม: .....

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สุภาสินี: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๒</u> วัลภา เดชอักษร เช่าอพาร์ทเมนท์อยู่กับ โสมสุดา ใจสะอาด เช้าวันหนึ่งขณะที่ทั้งคู่กำลังจะออกไปทำงาน วัลภาเผลอเอากระเป๋าเอกสารไปวางทับแว่นตาของโสมสุดาอย่างจังทำให้แว่นตาแตก ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๑๐: ๔.๑)

วัลภา: .....

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โสมสุดา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๓</u> มาลีวรรณ จันทร์กระจ่าง เป็นอาจารย์อยู่ที่โรงเรียนมัธยมแห่งหนึ่ง ขณะที่สอนนักเรียนชั้นหนึ่งอยู่ เธอนึกขึ้นได้ว่าเธอลืมเอาชีทหัวข้อหนึ่งที่จะต้องแจกให้กับนักเรียนมาด้วยจากห้องพักครู เธอจึงรีบเดินกลับไปห้องพักครู ทันใดนั้น เธอได้เดินชนกับปิติ โกษาธรรม นักเรียนอีกชั้นปีหนึ่งอย่างจังตรงหัวมุมทางเดิน เป็นเหตุให้ปิติสะดุดและทำหนังสือที่เขาถืออยู่หล่นลงกับพื้น ท่านคิดว่าผู้พูดทั้งสองจะโต้ตอบอย่างไรเมื่อเกิดเหตุการณ์ดังกล่าวขึ้น (๓: ๑.๓)

มาลีวรรณ: .....

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ปิติ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๔</u> ชัยพักตร์ คุณสวัสดิ์ เป็นนักกอล์ฟมืออาชีพซึ่งมีชื่อเสียงโด่งดังคนหนึ่ง ชัยพักตร์กำลังจะกลับบ้านหลังจากที่ไปไดร์ฟกอล์ฟที่สโมสรเสรีจ เขาหยุดคุยกับสมศรี มีสกุล แคดดี้สาวซึ่งให้บริการเขาอยู่เสมอ เมื่อคุยกันได้สักพักหนึ่ง สมศรีบอกชัยพักตร์ว่าตนเพิ่งทำแว่นตาหล่นหาย ชัยพักตร์รู้สึกว่าได้ไปเหยียบบางสิ่งเข้า เมื่อทั้งสองก้มมองดูที่พื้น สมศรีแทบจำแว่นตาของเธอเองไม่ได้เพราะมันแตกละเอียด ชัยพักตร์รู้สึกไม่ดีที่ได้ทำข้าวของของผู้อื่นเสียหาย ท่านคิดว่าผู้พูดทั้งสองจะใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๑๒: ๔.๓)

ชัยพักตร์: .....

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สมศรี: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๕</u> สุทธิพล ดุสิตา มีหน้าที่เป็นหัวหน้าผู้ควบคุมห้องทดลองที่ อรอนงค์ บุตรเมที เป็นนักเรียนทำการวิจัยทางด้าน

ชีววิทยาอยู่ วันหนึ่ง สุทธิพลเข้างานสายไป ๒๐ นาที เพราะรถติด เมื่อมาถึงที่ทำงาน เขาพบว่าอรอนงค์รอให้เขามาเปิดห้องทดลอง สุทธิพลรู้สึกว่าตัวเองผิดที่ทำให้ผู้อื่นรอเป็นเวลานาน ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์นี้ (๕: ๓.๓)

สุทธิพล: .....

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อรอนงค์: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๖</u> ร้อยเอกสมคิด ยุติธรรม เป็นครูฝึกอยู่ที่ศูนย์ฝึกทหารแห่งหนึ่ง ช่วงหยุดพักเที่ยงวันหนึ่ง เขาพบกับพลตรีชำนาญ มีการดี ซึ่งมีตำแหน่งเป็นผู้บังคับบัญชาของศูนย์ฝึกนั้นโดยบังเอิญใกล้ๆ กับโรงอาหาร ขณะที่กำลังจะพูดทักทายกับพลตรีชำนาญ เขาก็เรอออกมาอย่างยั้งไม่อยู่ ท่านคิดว่าบุคคลทั้งสองจะใช้คำพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์เช่นนี้ (๑๔: ๕.๒)

ร้อยเอกสมคิด: .....

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พลตรีชำนาญ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๗</u> มานัส อารยะกุล และ ภาสกร เดชธานี เป็นอาจารย์อยู่ที่วิทยาลัยแห่งหนึ่ง มานะออกความคิดที่จะจัดงานเลี้ยงที่บ้านโดยเชิญอาจารย์คนอื่นๆ มาร่วมงาน มานัสได้แจ้งให้ทุกคนเตรียมของขวัญมาคนละ ๑ ชิ้นเพื่อจับฉลาก ภาสกรเดินทางมาถึงบ้านของมานัส หลังจากคุยกับมานัสได้สักพัก เขาก็นึกขึ้นได้ว่าได้ลืมซื้อของขวัญติดมาด้วย ภาสกรรู้สึกแย่ที่ตนหลงลืม ถ้าท่านเป็นคนทั้งสอง ท่านจะพูดว่าอย่างไร (๑๖: ๖.๑)

ภาสกร: .....

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มานัส: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๘</u> ชาตรี โรจนธรรม เพิ่งถูกเลื่อนตำแหน่งให้เป็นหัวหน้าแผนกบุคคลโดยมติของคณะกรรมการบริษัท อดุลย์ ชลธานี รองประธานบริษัทอยากแสดงความยินดี จึงอาสาจะพาชาตรีไปเลี้ยงอาหารที่ภัตตาคาร ชาตรีมาถึงภัตตาคารสายเพราะรถติด เขารู้สึกผิดที่ปล่อยให้อดุลย์รอนานถึง ๒๐ นาที ท่านคิดว่าทั้งชาตรีและอดุลย์จะพูดโต้ตอบกันอย่างไร (๘: ๓.๒)

ชาตรี: .....

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อดุลย์: .....

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ความคิดเห็นและข้อเสนอแนะ: .....

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ขอขอบพระคุณในความร่วมมือ

แบบสอบถามการใช้ภาษาในบทสนทนา (ค)

ขอขอบพระคุณที่ให้ความร่วมมือในงานวิจัยครั้งนี้ แบบสอบถามนี้ประกอบไปด้วยรายละเอียดของบทสนทนาระหว่างบุคคล ๒ คน ซึ่งผู้วิจัยใคร่ขอให้ท่านพิจารณาและตอบคำถามตามสมควร กรุณาอ่านคำชี้แจงข้างล่างนี้ให้ถี่ถ้วน ก่อนที่ท่านจะลงมือเขียนคำตอบใดๆ ลงไป

คำชี้แจง

๑. ให้สมมุติว่าท่านเป็นผู้พูดทั้งสองคนในบทสนทนาแต่ละข้อ จากนั้นให้เขียนคำสนทนาอะไรก็ได้ที่ท่านเห็นว่า**ฟังแล้วเป็นธรรมชาติที่สุดและเหมาะสมที่สุด** โดยพิจารณาจากสถานการณ์และความสัมพันธ์ของผู้พูดทั้งสอง ตามที่ได้กำหนดไว้ ตัวอย่างเช่น

(ตัวอย่าง) วิทยาเดินตรงไปยังเครื่องขายน้ำอัตโนมัติเพื่อซื้อน้ำอัดลมกระป๋องหลังจากเรียนจบวิชาหนึ่ง แต่นึกขึ้นได้ว่าตนมีเหรียญไม่พอ เผอิญวิทยาเห็นไปพบกับสุรศักดิ์ เพื่อนร่วมชั้นที่สนิทคนหนึ่ง ท่านคิดว่าวิทยาจะพูดว่าอย่างไร ถ้าเขาต้องการจะยืมเงินจากสุรศักดิ์ และสุรศักดิ์จะตอบว่าอย่างไร (ท่านอาจเลือกตอบดังตัวอย่างในวงเล็บข้างล่างนี้ก็ได้ ซึ่งก็ฟังดูเป็นธรรมชาติ)

วิทยา: เฮ้ย! ศักดิ์ ขอยืมเหรียญ ๑๐ เหรียญนึงดิ พอดีไม่มีเหรียญติดตัวเลยว่ะ

สุรศักดิ์: เดี๋ยวดูก่อนนะ อ้ะ! นี่ไง

๒. **กรุณาตอบคำถามทุกข้อในแบบสอบถามนี้** อย่างไรก็ตาม ถ้าท่านเห็นว่าไม่สามารถตอบคำถามบางข้อได้ (ไม่ว่าจะด้วยเหตุผลใดๆ) ขอให้ท่านอธิบายอย่างเพียงพอด้วยว่าทำไมจึงคิดเช่นนั้น ในขณะเดียวกัน ท่านอาจจะระบุการแสดงออกอื่นๆ (เช่น ยกมือไหว้ยิ้ม หรือพยักหน้า) ลงไปในคำตอบด้วยตามสมควร

๓. ท่านสามารถเขียนความคิดเห็นอื่นๆ เกี่ยวกับปัญหาที่พบในแบบสอบถามนี้ได้ในที่ว่างของหน้าสุดท้าย ไม่ว่าจะเป็นความไม่เหมาะสมของสถานการณ์ ตลอดจนข้อบกพร่องอื่นๆ (ท่านอาจพบว่ามีสถานการณ์ที่ดูซ้ำๆ กันอยู่บางข้อ ทั้งนี้เนื่องจากความจำเป็นของลักษณะการตั้งคำถามที่ผู้วิจัยเลือกใช้)

ข้อมูลจำเพาะของท่าน (กรุณาใส่เครื่องหมาย ✓ หรือกรอกข้อความลงในช่องว่าง)

- อายุ: ☐ ๑๕-๒๐ ☐ ๒๑-๓๐ ☐ ๓๑-๔๐ ☐ ๔๑-๕๐ ☐ ๕๑-๖๐ ☐ ๖๑+ (ปี)
- เพศ: ☐ ชาย ☐ หญิง
- สัญชาติ: .....
- ภาษาแม่: .....
- ภาษาอื่นๆ ที่ท่านพูดได้: .....
- อาชีพปัจจุบัน: .....
- อาชีพของบิดา: ..... อาชีพของมารดา: .....
- จังหวัดที่ท่านถูกเลี้ยงดู (กรอกชื่อเมืองและประเทศ ถ้าไม่ใช่ในประเทศไทย): .....
- ระดับการศึกษา (เลือกกี่ข้อก็ได้): ☐ ประถมศึกษา ☐ มัธยมศึกษา ☐ วิทยาลัยสายอาชีพ ☐ อุดมศึกษา
- สถานภาพ: ☐ โสด ☐ สมรส ☐ หย่า ☐ อื่นๆ (โปรดระบุ: .....)
- หนังสือพิมพ์และนิตยสารที่ท่านชอบอ่าน: .....

สถานการณ์ในบทสนทนา

<u>สถานการณ์ ๑</u> กรุณา ยมดี เพิ่งย้ายเข้ามาทำงานเป็นเสมียนที่บริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง วันหนึ่ง ขณะที่กำลังคุยกับพิรุณ ปรางวิชัย ผู้จัดการของเธอ กรุณาได้บอกกับพิรุณว่าเธอเพิ่งย้ายมาจากต่างจังหวัด และอยากจะทำความรู้จักกับคนใหม่ๆ เมื่อได้ยินดังนั้น พิรุณจึงชวนเธอไปรับประทานอาหารเย็นกับครอบครัวของเขาในวันรุ่งขึ้น กรุณารับคำเชิญทันที เธอรู้สึกปลาบปลื้มกับความมีน้ำใจของพิรุณ และอยากจะบอกความรู้สึกดังกล่าว ท่านคิดว่ากรุณาจะบอกพิรุณอย่างไร และตัวพิรุณเองจะตอบว่าอย่างไร (๕: ๒.๒)

กรุณา: .....

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พิรุณ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๒</u> คเชนทร์ อำพันสกุล เป็นอาจารย์อยู่ที่โรงเรียนมัธยมแห่งหนึ่ง เขาได้ขาดงานเป็นเวลา ๑ อาทิตย์ เพราะได้ป่วยเป็นไข้อย่างแรง คเชนทร์กลับมาสอนตามปกติหลังจากหายไข้ดีแล้ว สุธิดา อยู่ชำนิ เป็นนักเรียนประจำชั้นของคเชนทร์ วันหนึ่งเมื่อพบคเชนทร์ เธอได้บอกเขาว่านักเรียนทุกคนรวมทั้งตัวเธอเองต่างก็นึกถึง และเป็นห่วงอาการของเขาอย่างมาก คเชนทร์รู้สึกปลื้มใจที่มีผู้อื่นเป็นห่วงเป็นใยตน และอยากจะบอกความรู้สึกดังกล่าวให้สุธิดาทราบ ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองฝ่ายจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๑๕: ๕.๓)

คเชนทร์: .....

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สุธิดา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๓</u> สุปราณี ยศสุภาพ มีตำแหน่งเป็นเจ้าหน้าที่ฝ่ายต่างประเทศที่มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งหนึ่ง เธอได้รับการเลือกตั้งให้เป็นผู้แจกสูจิบัตรงานประชุมที่จะจัดขึ้นที่มหาวิทยาลัย สุปราณีได้ติดประกาศไว้ที่หน้าห้องทำงานของเธอ เพื่อแจ้งเวลาที่ผู้สนใจสามารถมาขอรับสูจิบัตรได้ พิศมัย อาสดาวงศ์ พนักงานพิมพ์ดีดของแผนกได้เข้ามาขอสูจิบัตรในบ่ายวันหนึ่ง หลังจากคุยทักทายกันได้สักพัก สุปราณีจึงได้ยื่นสูจิบัตรให้กับพิศมัย พิศมัยรู้สึกปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์นี้ (๑๑: ๔.๒)

พิศมัย: .....

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สุปราณี: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๔</u> วิไลวรรณ แสงจันทร์ และ สุพัตรา มณีประเสริฐ เรียนอยู่ชั้นเดียวกัน วันหนึ่ง หลังจากจบฟังการบรรยาย นักเรียนในชั้นต่างเริ่มเดินออกจากห้องประชุม ขณะเดียวกันนั้น วิไลวรรณเดินอยู่ข้างหน้า และผลักประตูค้างไว้ให้สุพัตราเดินผ่าน สุพัตรารู้สึกปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่าสุพัตราและวิไลวรรณจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๑: ๑.๑)

สุพัตรา: .....

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วิไลวรรณ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๕</u> สุชาติ พลภักดี และ มนตรี ชัยเจริญ มีตำแหน่งเป็นพนักงานทั่วไปอยู่ที่บริษัทแห่งหนึ่ง สุชาติเพิ่งเดินทางกลับมาจากลาพักร้อนที่ประเทศฝรั่งเศส วันหนึ่ง มนตรีได้เดินมาหาสุชาติที่โต๊ะทำงาน หลังจากคุยไถ่ถามทุกข์สุข สุชาติจึงได้หยิบของฝากซึ่งเป็นหอไอเฟลจำลองออกมาให้มนตรี มนตรีรู้สึกปลาบปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๗: ๓.๑)

มนตรี: .....

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สุชาติ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๖</u> มณฤดี ศรีวิกรณ์ได้เป็นไข้หวัดอย่างรุนแรง เธอมาเรียนหนังสือตามปกติหลังจากขาดเรียนไปเป็นเวลาประมาณ ๑ อาทิตย์ จารุวรรณ นิยมศิลป์ เพื่อนร่วมชั้น ได้พบเธอเข้า และบอกว่าตนและเพื่อนร่วมชั้นคนอื่นๆ ต่างก็นึกถึง และเป็นห่วงอาการของมณฤดีเป็นอย่างมาก มณฤดีรู้สึกปลื้มใจที่มีผู้อื่นเป็นห่วงเป็นใยตน และอยากจะบอกความรู้สึกดังกล่าวให้จารุวรรณทราบ ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองฝ่ายจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๑๓: ๕.๑)

มณฤดี: .....

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จารุวรรณ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๗</u> ปรียานุช รักมั่น ทำงานเป็นพนักงานฝ่ายสวัสดิการที่กระทรวงศึกษาธิการ วันหนึ่งเธอได้เข้าร่วมประชุมย่อยโดยมีอดิศร โลหะมงคล รัฐมนตรีว่าการกระทรวงดังกล่าวเป็นผู้บรรยาย ช่วงพักทานอาหารว่าง ผู้ร่วมประชุมต่างเริ่มทยอยกันออกจากห้องประชุม ปรียานุชเผอิญเดินอยู่ข้างหลังอดิศร อดิศรเปิดประตูค้างไว้ให้เธอเดินผ่าน ปรียานุชรู้สึกปลื้มใจในความมีน้ำใจของอดิศร ท่านคิดว่าทั้งคู่จะพูดโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๒: ๑.๒)

ปรียานุช: .....

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อดิศร: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๘</u> วุฒิพงศ์ ดุสิตากุล มีตำแหน่งเป็นเจ้าหน้าที่ฝ่ายต่างประเทศที่บริษัทขนาดใหญ่แห่งหนึ่ง เขาได้รับการเลือกตั้งให้เป็นผู้แจกสูจิบัตรงานประชุมอันหนึ่งซึ่งจะจัดขึ้นที่บริษัทดังกล่าว วุฒิพงศ์ได้ติดประกาศไว้ที่หน้าห้องทำงานของเขา เพื่อแจ้งเวลาที่ผู้สนใจสามารถมาขอรับสูจิบัตรได้ ชาติชาย สาภะ รองประธานบริษัท ได้เข้ามาขอสูจิบัตรในบ่ายวันหนึ่ง หลังจากคุยทักทายกันได้สักพัก วุฒิพงศ์จึงยื่นสูจิบัตรให้กับชาติชาย ชาติชายรู้สึกปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์นี้ (๑๒: ๔.๓)

ชาติชาย: .....

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วุฒิพงศ์: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๙</u> พรพิมล ศรีชำนาญ มีตำแหน่งเป็นเลขานุการของจักรพันธ์ อำไพวงศ์ หัวหน้าแผนกทะเบียนของวิทยาลัยแห่งหนึ่ง พรพิมลเพิ่งเดินทางกลับมาจากลาพักร้อนที่ประเทศฝรั่งเศส วันหนึ่ง เธอได้มาหาจักรพันธ์ที่โต๊ะทำงาน หลังจากคุยไถ่ถามทุกข์สุขเธอจึงได้หยิบของฝากซึ่งเป็นหอไอเฟลจำลองออกมาให้ จักรพันธ์รู้สึกปลาบปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่าบุคคลทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๙: ๓.๓)

จักรพันธ์: .....

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พรพิมล: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๐</u> ชัยยุทธ เรือนสุข พักอยู่ที่อาคารที่พักอาศัยแห่งหนึ่งเป็นเวลานาน วิษนุ พันดี เพิ่งย้ายเข้ามาอยู่ที่ห้องข้างกัน ทั้งสองได้ทำความรู้จักและทักทายกันบ่อยๆ วันหนึ่ง ขณะที่ทั้งสองกำลังนั่งดื่มเบียร์อยู่ที่ผับในละแวกนั้น วิษนุได้บอกกับชัยยุทธว่าตนเพิ่งย้ายมาจากต่างจังหวัด และอยากจะทำความรู้จักกับคนใหม่ๆ เมื่อได้ยินดังนั้น ชัยยุทธจึงออกปากชวนวิษนุไปรับประทานอาหารเย็นกับครอบครัวของเขาที่ชานเมืองในวันรุ่งขึ้น วิษนุรับคำเชิญทันที เขารู้สึกปลาบปลื้มกับความมีน้ำใจของชัยยุทธ และอยากจะบอกความรู้สึกดังกล่าว ท่านคิดว่าวิษนุจะบอกชัยยุทธว่าอย่างไร และชัยยุทธจะตอบว่าอย่างไร (๔: ๒.๑)

วิษนุ: .....

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ชัยยุทธ: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๑</u> ธนากร สุวรรณดิลก เป็นนักศึกษาอยู่ที่มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งหนึ่ง เขาเป็นไข้หวัดไม่สบายอย่างรุนแรงมาก จนต้องขาดเรียนไปเป็นเวลา ๑ อาทิตย์ วันหนึ่ง เขาได้เข้าพบสุวิทย์ กลิ่นไมตรี อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา สุวิทย์บอกว่าทั้งตนและอาจารย์คนอื่นๆ ต่างก็นึกถึง และเป็นห่วงอาการของธนากรเป็นอย่างมาก ธนากรรู้สึกปลื้มใจที่มีผู้อื่นเป็นห่วงเป็นใยตน และอยากจะบอกความรู้สึกดังกล่าวให้สุวิทย์ทราบ ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองฝ่ายจะพูดโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๑๔: ๕.๒)

ธนากร: .....

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สุวิทย์: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๒</u> กิตติพันธ์ แก้วกังวาน เป็นผู้พิพากษาศาลฎีกา โดยมีวัฒนา เนตรอุ่น เป็นเลขาประจำตำแหน่ง ทั้งสองเดินไปยังห้องว่าความวันหนึ่ง วัฒนาเดินอยู่ข้างหน้า และผลักประตูค้างไว้ให้กิตติพันธ์เดินผ่าน กิตติพันธ์รู้สึกปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่ากิตติพันธ์และวัฒนาจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๓: ๑.๓)

กิตติพันธ์: .....

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วัฒนา: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๓</u> อุษาวดี จันทรา เป็นเลขานุการของสกล บันเทิงสิทธิ์ ผู้จัดการคนใหม่ที่เพิ่งย้ายเข้ามาทำงาน อุษาวดีได้เข้ามาพบสกลในห้องทำงานวันหนึ่งเพื่อขอลายเซ็น สกลได้บอกกับเธอว่าตนเพิ่งย้ายมาจากต่างจังหวัด และอยากจะทำความรู้จักกับคนใหม่ๆ เมื่อได้ยินดังนั้น อุษาวดีจึงออกปากชวนสกลไปรับประทานอาหารเย็นกับครอบครัวของเธอที่บ้านในวันรุ่งขึ้น สกลรับคำเชิญทันที เขารู้สึกปลาบปลื้มกับความมีน้ำใจของอุษาวดี และอยากจะบอกความรู้สึกดังกล่าว ท่านคิดว่าผู้พูดทั้งสองจะโต้ตอบกันว่าอย่างไร (๖: ๒.๓)

สกล: .....

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อุษาวดี: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๔</u> จิตรลดา ไชยประเสริฐ เรียนวิชาศิลปะการแสดงอยู่ที่สถาบันแห่งหนึ่ง เธอมีอรทัย วรมณี เป็นอาจารย์สอนเต้นรำ อรทัยเพิ่งเดินทางกลับมาจากไปเที่ยวที่ประเทศฝรั่งเศส วันหนึ่ง จิตรลดาได้เดินมาหาอรทัยที่โต๊ะทำงาน หลังจากคุยไถ่ถามทุกข์สุข อรทัยจึงได้หยิบของฝากซึ่งเป็นหอไอเฟลจำลองออกมาให้ จิตรลดารู้สึกปลาบปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่าบุคคลทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์ดังกล่าว (๘: ๓.๒)

จิตรลดา: .....

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อรทัย: .....

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<u>สถานการณ์ ๑๕</u> รัชนก เพื่องฟู ทำงานเป็นเจ้าหน้าที่ฝ่ายต่างประเทศที่การสื่อสารแห่งประเทศไทย เธอได้รับการเลือกตั้งให้เป็น

ผู้แจกสูจิบัตรงานประชุมอันหนึ่งซึ่งจะถูกจัดขึ้น รัชนกได้ติดประกาศไว้ที่หน้าห้องทำงานของเธอ เพื่อแจ้งเวลาที่ผู้สนใจสามารถมาขอรับสูจิบัตรได้ ศักดา มีชาติ เจ้าหน้าที่ฝ่ายต่างประเทศอีกคนหนึ่ง ได้เข้ามาขอสูจิบัตรในบ่ายวันหนึ่ง หลังจากคุยทักทายกันสักพัก รัชนกจึงได้ยื่นสูจิบัตรให้กับศักดา ศักดารู้สึกปลื้มใจ ท่านคิดว่าทั้งสองจะพูดว่าอย่างไรในสถานการณ์นี้ (๑๐: ๔.๑)

ศักดา: .....

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รัชนก: .....

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ความคิดเห็นและข้อเสนอแนะ: .....

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ขอขอบพระคุณในความร่วมมือ

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